

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE LATE
MINISTRY,
OR, A
MEMORIAL;
CONTAINING

A Summary of FACTS with their VOUCHERS,
in Answer to *The Observations*, sent by the
Engliſh MINISTRY, to the Courts of
EUROPE.

Wherein (among many curious and interest-
ing Pieces, which may ſerve as Authentic
Memoirs towards a Hiſtory of the preſent
Quarrel between *Great-Britain* and *France*)
ſeveral Papers are to be ſeen at full Length;
Extracts of which lie now, under the Con-
ſideration of P——T.

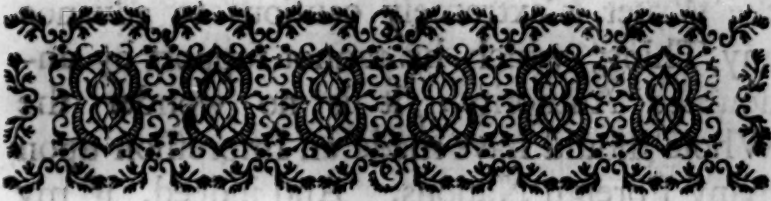
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Francis Parkman fund



THE PREFACE.

THE Work which we here present a Translation of, to the *English* Reader, has been published some time since, in *Holland*. It consists of a plain Narrative of the principal Facts, and Events, which have occurred both in *Europe*, and *North-America*, relative to the Cause of the present War, between this Nation and *France*; from the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, to the taking the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, by Admiral *Boscawen*'s Squadron; together, with a great Number of curious and interesting Pieces, all Originals, produced in order to authenticate the same. As the Style of

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the *Memorial* appears to be quite unaffected, the Manner unartful; and that, seemingly, the Writer is extremely cautious to advance any Thing, which he cannot support by undoubted Authority; it is no wonder the Whole should have made an Impression upon many Foreign Nations. And indeed, if my Information be good, (and I have strong Reason to think it) the unexampled, and strange Indifference, which some former Allies, shew at present to our Interests, is in a great Measure, owing to the Impression made by this Performance. Why *Britons*, should not be made acquainted with the Arguments and other Means, used by their Enemies, to fully the Brightness of that Character of Equity, Moderation, Generosity and Humanity, with which they have shined forth, I may say unrivalled, for so many Ages; Why they should not have an Opportunity of vindicating themselves, from the foul Aspersions which are cast upon them as a Nation; we shall submit to the candid Determination of those who have still some Concern for the (we hope, not yet lost) Honour of their deluded, and most injured Country? Sure we are, that this our Undertaking, will only be condemned by such, whose Interest it has always been to conceal Truth from the People.

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In these corrupt Times, it were Absurd to pretend to a total Dis-interestedness in one's Actions. We have, at this very Time, very eminent and shining Instances of the Offence, which such extraordinary Pretensions give some Folks. That we had therefore a Self-interested View in this Undertaking, we will not deny. And indeed, how could we (from the Importance of the Subject, and the curious and extraordinary Matter, with which this Work abounds) do otherwise than expect an ample Reward for our Pains, and the Expence we must be at. But we can assure the Public, that its Concern and Welfare, have had the next Place in our Thoughts, on this Occasion. Could others, who have lately moved in a higher Sphere, say as much ; it is humbly conceived, the Clamour of the People, would not run so high against them as it now does.

The great Use of publishing this Work in an *English* Dress will, we are sure, easily occur to every considerate Person, and need not be further insisted on. That it does not redound to the Honour of our late Rulers, we readily allow. But we also venture to affirm that the Nation, especially at this
critical

critical Juncture, is interested in exposing every Part of their Conduct to public View. There is no extraordinary Degree of Understanding requisite to distinguish between the End, and the means of attaining that End. However laudable the former might have been on the present Occasion it is most certain, that Means, very unwarrantable and very unjustifiable, have been employed towards attaining it. Thank God! A Personage now presides over our Affairs; who will soon evince, to the Confusion of all petty *Machiavelists*; that, in all Dealings both of public and private Nature, **HONESTY is the best POLICY.**



A

MEMORIAL &c.

BY the directions of his Britannick Majesty a piece has been sent to most of the courts of Europe, entitled *Observations on the Memorial of France*. The author undertakes to confute the motives on which the king has grounded his requisition of the 21st. of last December, and to justify England's refusal of making a restitution to France of her ships, taken in a time of profound peace.

In order to give a gloss to a refusal so contrary both to the equity, which is the common standard of all nations, and the pacific views, which his Britannick Majesty has given perpetual assurances he would never deviate from; it was necessary to charge France with hostilities prior to the making these prizes. In order to lessen the impression, which the violences committed in the course of this year by the English navy, must have made on all the powers of Europe, it was necessary to prove, or at least to maintain, that the French were the aggressors. And indeed that is the principal fact insisted on in these *Observations*. In short the author would fain prove that the French have

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mitted such hostilities in America, as obliged the court of London to make just reprisals.

To these imputations, France will oppose nothing, but the most simple exposition of all that has passed between the two nations since the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, as well in America, as Europe. Sovereigns have for their judges the age they live in, and posterity their character is to be ascertained by history alone.

That the relation of so many important facts may be out of the reach of criticism, none shall be advanced that is not avowed by both courts, or supported by papers of undoubted authority and credit; those which have been found in the book-case of general Braddock, after that battle, wherein he lost his life, have laid open the plan of the court of London. The publication of the informations contained in these papers has not been resolved on, till all possible means had been tried to save the English government, the mortification which must arise from a discovery of its System.

France by the treaty of Utrecht, yielded to England, New Scotland, or Acadia, according to its ancient limits, as also the town of Port-Royal. 'Tis very probable the British ministers had at that time of Acadia, properly so called, nearly the same idea that they had always entertained in France of that country. Thus far however 'tis certain, that they had not then so much as dreamed of extending

ing this province to the southern bank of the river St. Laurence.

And indeed the French who were settled on the river St. John; those along the coast of the Etchemins; and from that coast to the river St. Laurence; even those who inhabited the Minas; the borders of the Isthmus, and the other Countries which are most contiguous to that yielded to Great-Britain; became sensible of no alteration in their state or possessions. The English attempted neither to banish them the country, or compell them to swear fealty to the king of England. These Inhabitants continued in the quiet possession of their property, under the protection of the king, whom they never ceased to consider as their lawful sovereign.

From 1744 'till 1748. War was carried on in America in the same manner as in Europe; but it had no other object in that part of the world, than that which gave occasion to the differences on the Old Continent: There was no question then either of the limits of the respective states, or of giving any interpretation to the treaty of Utrecht; the sense of which being sufficiently evident of itself, seemed still fixed, and settled by the peaceful possession of both nations. It was on this account esteemed sufficient to stipulate, by article V. of the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, the restitution of all that might have been conquered by one nation over the other, since

the beginning of the war. There was no reference made to the treaty of Utrecht; and by article IX. it was agreed that all things should be re-established, on the same footing that they had been, or ought to have been on, (not in 1713) but before the present war.

Immediately after this peace, the court of London formed the plan of several new settlements, in which it paid more regard to its commercial interests, than to the clauses of the treaties, of which that of Aix-la-Chapelle had been a renewal. Notice was given of these settlements by the channel of all the news-papers. It was then plain England intended to extend to the river St. Laurence, those which were to be made in Acadia, and no limits were assigned to those which were to take place towards Hudson's Bay.

The eclat of these preparations, and the importance of the project, of which they were the fore-runners, awakened the king's attention. He set forth his rights in a memorial, which he caused to be given into the court of London, in the month of June 1749, and proposed the appointment of commissaries from both nations, who were to settle in an amicable manner the limits of the respective colonies. This proposal was accepted; and in the memorial of July 1749, by which the king of Great-Britain agreed to the nomination of those commissaries, his majesty declared, 1°. "That no such thing was intended as a
" project

“ project towards Hudson’s Bay. 2°. That he
 “ had given effectual orders that no attempt
 “ should be made, either on the side of
 “ Nova Scotia, or that of Hudson’s Bay, on
 “ the possessions, or the trade of his most
 “ christian majesty’s subjects. 3°. That he had
 “ given no orders to make settlements in
 “ that part of Nova Scotia, to which France
 “ had formed pretentions”.

The Settlement of Hallifax, then in agitation in England, seemed in some sort to be a pledge of the sincerity of this declaration. Supplies which seemed designed only for this infant colony, were not of such a nature as to alarm the French government. The town is built on the coast of Acadia, at the mouth of Chedabucto Bay.

One of the principal stipulations agreed to on the nomination of commissaries, was that no innovation should be attempted on the countries, the fate of which was to be finally determined by their sentence. This convention was a consequence of the declaration made in the court of London’s memorial. Thus did the French remain in possession of all the lands which they had held without interruption since the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle; as well between Bay Francoise, and the river St. Laurence, as in the Peninsula itself; from the Minas to the Isthmus, and from the Isthmus to the bay of Chedabucto. As to the Banks of the Ohio, and the countries situated to the west

west of the apalachian mountains; the English never had either forts or factories in those places, nor had the court of London formed even a project of any settlement on that side; nor was there the least mention made of this country, either in the negociations which had preceded the treaty of Utrecht, or in those which had given occasion to the peace of Aix-la Chapelle.

From the settling this commission, and the mutual engagements which had preceded, it was imagined that the court of London would issue to the governors of the English colonies in America, such orders as were agreeable to the stipulations made in Europe: It was of the greatest consequence to the tranquility of both nations, to put an early stop to these petty dissensions, which in time might give rise to differences of a more serious nature. We shall here take a short view of the disputes, which had preceded the appointment of commissaries. M. Mascarens, an English commander wanted to compel the French Inhabitants of the River St. John, to swear fealty to the king of England. These people intimidated by menaces, made applications to the count de la Galissoniere, who in order to remove their fears, sent an officer with a small detachment of soldiers, and of the milicians of Canada. M. de la Galissoniere, had after that not only complained by letter to Mr. Mascarens of this attempt; but also endeavoured

deavoured to prevail on him to suspend the hostilities, which the English had not ceased to commit against the Abnakies; notwithstanding these had by the orders of the French, (their allies) laid down their arms on the immediate news of the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle. These complaints had given occasion to a series of letters, wrote in a pretty warm stile, and which passed mutually between the marquis de la Jonquiere, and M. Cornwallis: The first having succeeded the Count de la Galiffioniere, and the second Mr. Mascarens, in 1749. An end was supposed to have been put to these altercations, by the orders which the court of London affirmed to have sent to the governors of the English colonies, in consequence of the appointment of commissaries.

They had already begun their sittings, when general Cornwallis thought himself now in such a condition, as he need not observe any measures. He had received from England fresh supplies of troops, settlers, ammunition, and artillery; and in consequence he made fresh efforts to expel the French from a country, on which according to the assurance of his Britannick Majesty, no attempt was to be made till the commissaries came to a decision.

The first acts of violence were directed against the king's subjects, who are settled on the northern coasts of the Peninsula. The English commander's view was to compel them to withdraw, in order to make room for the

the new settlers; most of the French families were forced to relinquish their possessions, to evacuate the Peninsula, and to seek refuge in other parts of New France.

Encouraged by this Success, Mr. Cornwallis thought proper to exert himself in the same manner against the French, who were settled out of the Peninsula, on the rivers which dis-embogue as well into the bottom of the bay of Fundi, as the gulph of St. Laurence. These People being thus perpetually exposed to the worst usage, and having experienced injustices and outrages without number, agreed to demand of marquis de la Jonquiere, that Protection which his majesty owes all his subjects. The marquis sent them a small detachment of troops and militia-men, under the command of an officer, to whom he gave the most precise orders, to attempt nothing against the English, and to confine himself solely to the preventing them from making any settlement on the lands, of which France was in possession; and above all that he should not himself make any fortification of any sort on them. The marquis de la Jonquiere did more; for he had the attention to give previous notice to Mr. Cornwallis of this step, the motives which forced him to it, and the orders given to the detachment.

The last complained of this conduct as an infringement; but the orders of the governor of New France having been strictly obeyed,
this

this dispute was attended at that time with no bad consequence.*

Two other objects gave occasion in a little time after to mutual complaints, in which the two courts thought themselves more particularly concerned.

Mr. Cornwallis complained of the cruelty with which the Abnakie savages used the English, who fell into their hands; he ascribed this usage to the suggestions of the French, and to the orders of the marquis de la Jonquiere. The latter cleared himself fully from the charge; and it may be said with truth, that the Abnakies had followed in this conduct only the impulse of their own resentment: It was at the French governor's request, that after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, they had ceased all kind of hostilities; but the English would never condescend to consider them, as comprehended in the general pacification, and had persevered in their persecutions against them. Thus enraged, these Savages had avenged their own injuries; and the marquis de la Jonquiere, so far from giving them assistance, used his best efforts to appease their Wrath. The court of London appeared satisfied with the explanations given on this occasion, and thus this affair ended.

The object of the other was of greater importance, and might have been attended with

* See original Papers, No. 2.

worse consequences. The English for some months used to intercept all the French vessels which brought provisions from Quebec: Which provisions were designed for the subsisting the posts situated on the frontiers of Canada, or were sent as presents, agreeable to annual custom, to the Indian-allies of France. Thus a vessel from Quebec called the London, which was returning empty, after having unloaded a cargo of provisions at Chedaic, was taken;* and in some time after they attacked, and took at the mouth of Baie Francoise, the king's Brigantine, called the St. Francis, commanded by an officer bearing his majesty's commission, and which served as a convoy to a vessel † laden with provision and ammunition for the use of the detachments on John's River. The taking these vessels, and the rifling of some others, gave occasion to complaints, which were at that time addressed to the court of London; but as no satisfaction ensued, the marquis de la Jonquiere fancied himself entitled to make reprisals, and in consequence ordered three or four English vessels to be seized on at Isle Royal, which were confiscated.

These hostilities at sea, in which 'tis observable the English were always the aggressors, were accompanied with several attempts which they made on the countries,

* See original Papers, No. 3. † Goelette.

in which it was agreed no innovation should be made. In the month of April 1750, general Cornwallis, entrusted major Lawrence with an expedition, against the posts occupied by the French on the Continent, commanded by the chevalier de Lacorne. What the object of this armament was, may be learned from the Gazette of Boston, in New England, wherein it was inserted and represented as an act of hostility on the part of this governor; nay, it was also in this manner they expressed themselves in the letters printed in London, in the month of August of the same Year. General Cornwallis was not content with having given these orders: Having first erected a fort at the Minas, he proposed to put himself at the head of a body of forces, which were to penetrate into the heart of the Continent; and to make sure work of it, he caused a considerable fortress to be erected at a place called Chinecto, or Beaubassin, situated in the Isthmus, and at the upper end of the Baie Francoise. These places were certainly of the number of those, the property of which was to be settled by the commissaries.

The French commandants, in order to protect the countries which they were in possession of against an invasion, of which they had such plain intimations, could not now dispense with erecting in their turn two small forts, the one facing Beaubassin, at a

place called Beau-Sejour, the other at Gaspereau, on Bay-verte, as a magazine for the first, and to secure supplies by the gulph of St. Lawrence.

What had passed at the time of building the fort of Beaubassin proved sufficiently the necessity of erecting these two forts, which were calculated to serve as a bulwark to the Continent. For general Cornwallis, had caused troops, and some artillery to march against the inhabitants of the Isthmus, who were so terrified by this procedure, that they ran away, having first of all set fire to their habitations; and what is the more remarkable in all this is, that the English general who reduced both French and Savages to this cruel dilemma, had the assurance to complain of this fight, which he treated as an act of hostility on their side: A new kind of hostility indeed, that! Which, as we see, consists in a man's leaving his country* open to the invasion of a foreign power! And indeed, the complaints of Mr. Cornwallis, served only to bring about an eclarcissement, which ought to have convinced the king of England of the regularity of the proceedings of France, and how sincere she was in her desires to preserve peace.

The consequence of this eclarcissement was a formal declaration, by which his Britannick Majesty caused the king to be assured, that

* See original Papers, No. 4.

fresh orders had been sent to prevent any enterprise.

The king, on his part, repeated those he had already given to the marquis de la Jonquiere.

Whether it was owing to the measures taken by the court of England to prevent general Cornwallis from proceeding any farther; or to the vigilance of the marquis de la Jonquiere, in cautioning against surprises; 'tis certain the English forbore making any further attempts on that side: They maintained themselves in their forts of the Minas, and Beaubassin. The French remained quiet in those of Beau-Sejour, and Gaspereau; so that from 1751, till the expedition of 1755, of which an account shall be given hereafter, this part of New France had received no molestation from the vicinity of the English; nay, good harmony seemed to be so thoroughly re-established between them, that in order to put a stop to the frequent desertions on the frontiere, the marquis du Quesne, successor of the marquis de la Jonquiere, and Mr. Hopson, who succeeded Mr. Cornwallis, had agreed on a cartel, which was very punctually observed from 1752, till last year.

But tho' the tranquility was happily re-established in Acadia, yet encroachments and hostilities were multiplied on another side, on which equally depended the preservation of Canada. To clear up the origin, and fix the epoch of these troubles, it will be necessary to

to trace things somewhat farther back, than the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

The Ohio, otherwise called Belle-Riviere, or the Fair River, forms a natural communication between Canada, and the Louisiana, by the Lake Eric. The French who were concerned in the discovery, and the maintaining this communication, were the first who surveyed this river, of which the fleur de la Salle, a gentleman of Normandy, had visited a part in 1679. In 1712, the king, in the letters-patent for the settlement of Louisiana, comprehended the river Wabache, which discharges itself into the Ohio; and in general all the rivers which fall into the Mississippi. Since that time, the Ohio had been frequented by the French only; and the English never laid claim to the countries which it runs through. The Apalachian mountains had always been considered as the boundaries of their colonies.

The English ministry, who never missed an opportunity of distressing the trade of France, envied her for a long time this communication which she stood so much in need of. In 1749, some English traders began to carry on a contraband trade on the Ohio, and it was discovered that they were tampering with the Indians, in order to induce them to a war with France. The count de la Galissoniere dispatched from Canada to these parts the fleur Celoron, an officer of Canada, with directions

rections to use no violence towards these foreign traders; but to content himself with summoning them to withdraw, and to seize their goods, in case they persisted in staying.

This summons, which was the only step that was taken, was attended with all the effect which could have been expected from it. The English traders were obliged to sheer off, and duly cautioned against returning any more.

Nay the sieur Celoron charged them with a letter to the governor of Pensylvania, whose licences were shewn by some of these traders. He informed him by this letter of what had passed, and desired, not only that he would grant no such permission for the future, but that he would also take care that none of the English of his government should continue to carry on this contraband trade on the king's territories.

The sieur Celoron had no sooner left the Ohio, than the English traders returned in shoals: They had orders from the government to prevail on the Savages, to take up arms against France. They brought them even arms, and ammunition. In 1750, the marquis de la Jonquiere was under a necessity of sending a second time several detachments, still with orders to use no violence towards the English, and to awe the rebel-Savages. Even these were dealt with tenderly; however, in order to prevent the progress of the smuggling,

smuggling business, it was judged proper to seize four English traders, who continued smuggling, in defiance of the prohibition, and who besides had given strong suspicion of having laboured to bring the savages to a revolt. They were conducted to Quebec, where they were examined by the marquis de la Jonquiere himself, and from their depositions, * he had reason to be convinced of the certainty of his advices. It was proved, that the governor of Pensylvania had caused the Savages to be supplied with arms, ammunition, and other presents, in order to their declaring war. The marquis de la Jonquiere hesitated no longer sending these four Englishmen to France. They remained for some time prisoners at Rochelle. The lord Albemarle, then ambassador from England, whose protection they claimed, sued for their liberty, without the least complaint of the cause for which they were deprived thereof. The king ordered them to be enlarged, and even that they should have some money. Lord Albemarle, returned his thanks to the minister of the marine, as for a favour that had been conferred on him personally.

The moderation which the French laid themselves down as an invariable rule for their conduct, served to render the Savages of the Ohio more audacious. In a little time there

* See original Papers No. 5.

was reason to apprehend, that these people, to whom the English had promised assistances of every kind, would enter into a general conspiracy. Notwithstanding, the marquis de la Jonquiere went no farther in 1751, than he did in 1750. However, the detachments he had sent perceived a very extraordinary fermentation, the effects of which it became indispensably necessary to prevent speedily. The governor of Canada, being convinced that the colony was threatned with an invasion from these Savages, was preparing to march a more considerable body of troops, in order to awe them, but he died in March 1752.

The marquis du Quesne, his successor, arrived at Quebec, a few months after, he found the colony under the greatest apprehensions; he hastened therefore to take up the project of the marquis de la Jonquiere; but the march of the detachment being retarded by different circumstances, all that the sieur de St. Pierre, by whom it was commanded, could do, was, to erect himself, at a small distance from the Lake Eric, a post, where he spent the winter, from 1753 to 1754.

Here he was very quiet in the month of October 1753, when he received a letter from the governor of Virginia, requiring him to withdraw. He contented himself with answering, that he was on French ground: and by orders of his general, to whom he was going

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to

to communicate this summons;* as for the rest, he shewed the greatest politeness to the officer, who was the bearer of this letter.

At the same time that the marquis du Quesne was informed of this step of the governor of Virginia, he received from all parts advices of the preparations making in the English colonies, to act offensively against the French, on pretence of assisting the Savages: That these preparations were avowed by the court of London, appears from their having been published in all the English Gazettes of that time, in which were printed the very speeches, by which the governors of New England and Virginia laboured to prevail on the Savages, to wage war with France.

The English had also passed already the Apalachian Mountains, and were marching in a body with artillery, when in the spring of the year 1754, the sieur de Contre-Cœur, who had taken upon himself the command of the detachment, before under the orders of the sieur de St. Pierre, drew near the Ohio, with five or six hundred men. He found the English already intrenched at a small fort, which they had just thrown up between this river and the river Aux-Bœufs, or Beefs-River. They were to the number of

* The governor's letter, and the answer to the sieur de St. Pierre, were at that time inserted in the London papers.

fifty men, under the command of captain Trent; † they were summoned to withdraw from the French territories. The summons was complied with, the fort was quietly evacuated, and they even prayed the sieur de Contre-Cœur, to let them have some provisions, which they wanted: He caused them to be provided abundantly, and destroyed the fort.

As he continued his rout along the river from this place, he met on the banks with the traces of a fort, the construction of which was projected by the English, but was abandoned by them undoubtedly upon receiving intimation of his approach. He remained in this place himself, and fortified it. The entrenchments of this fortification, to which was given the name of fort du Quesne, were not yet finished, when the sieur de Contre-Cœur received advices of a considerable body of troops being on their march towards him. Upon which he charged the sieur de Jumonville with a summons in writing, by way of letter, addressed to the first English commander he should meet. This letter was wrote the 23d. of May 1754, and was nearly to the same purpose with the summons, formerly sent to captain Trent. It carried

† See original papers, No. 6. * See original papers, No. 7.

assurances to the English, that no violence should be offered them; and moreover, the English commander was desired to deliver his answer to the *sieur de Jumonville*, and to use that officer with due distinction and regard.

This deputy set out with an escort of thirty men, and so soon as the next morning, he found himself surrounded by a troop composed of English and Savages; the first discharged immediately two vollies, by which some soldiers were killed. The *sieur de Jumonville* made a signal, giving to understand, that he was bearer of a letter from his commander. Upon which, the fire ceased: A circle was immediately made round the officer, to hear what he had to say. He ordered the summons to be read, and before the man had done reading, he was himself murdered by the English. The remaining part of the French, who formed his escort, were immediately made prisoners of war; the only one who escaped, in giving an account to the *sieur de Contre-Cœur* of the circumstances of this affair, assured him, that the Savages, who were in company with the English, had not fired, and that even at the very time that *M. de Jumonville* was murdered, they had thrown themselves in between the French and their enemies.

This murder wrought on the minds of the Savages in a different manner from what major Washington himself, who commanded the English detachment, expected. Even those
who

who by the suggestions of the English were most animated against the French, offered upon this occasion to take vengeance for this crime.

The marquis du Quesne refused to accept the offers of a nation, always cruel in their vengeance. He made at first no doubt but that the English would disown the violence, and would charge it to the ferocious disposition of some traders; but since it was made appear, that nothing was done but by the orders of the governors of the English colonies.* Major Washington's journal can be produced in the original; where it appears, that he acted only by virtue of the precise orders he had received. From this it is plain, that to attack the French where-ever they were to be found was a measure at that very time resolved on.

The fleur de Contre-Cœur, having received no satisfaction from the English, and being furnished with the marquis du Quesne's Instructions, applied himself to find out the place where the assassins had retired to. He was informed, that major Washington was with his detachment in a small fort, which the English had built, and was by them called the fort of Necessity, where they waited the arrival of a fresh supply of troops, designed for the attack of fort du Quesne. He therefore sent out a detachment, in order to take,

* See original Papers, No. viii.

if possible, the French prisoners; or at least to compel the English to withdraw from the French territories. The sieur de Villiers, brother to Jumonville, was charged with the execution of the commission, and this was the sole purport of the instructions which were given him. It was even expressly recommended to him, to offer no violence, if the English would think proper to retire.

He set out the 28th of June, from fort du Quesne, and after having passed through the place where the murder had been committed, and where the bodies of the French were still to be seen, he arrived the 3d. of July within sight of the fort of Necessity. The English, who had sallied out, returned in again after they had made their discharge. The fort was immediately invested and attacked. The fire was very hot, but the sieur de Villiers caused it to cease towards eight o'clock in the evening, in order to propose to the English, that they would avoid an assault, which must have exposed them, in spite of the French themselves, to the cruel treatment of the Savages.

His proposal was accepted, and the capitulation drawn. The French would make no prisoners, because they did not consider themselves as at War. They contented themselves with insisting on those men being returned ~~them~~, who had been part of the escort of the sieur de Jumonville. Major Washington engaged himself to send them back to fort du Quesne,

Quesne, and gave hostages, as pledges of the performance of his promise. As to the English, they had leave to march out with one piece of cannon,* and all their effects. They themselves acknowledged, by the first article of this capitulation, that the French had no other design than to avenge the murder of a French officer, who was the bearer of a message.

The fort, being evacuated in consequence of this capitulation, was destroyed by the French; who returned, with their two hostages, to fort du Quesne.

However, this convention, to which seven or eight hundred men owed their preservation, remained unexecuted on the part of the English; never did the prisoners return to fort du Quesne; out of twenty two, which was their number, seven have been sent to England, where they arrived severally after having experienced the most shocking treatment; here they implored the assistance of the duke of Mirepoix, who sent them to France at the king's expence; as to the others, their fate is still a mystery; 'tis possible also, the detention of these prisoners might have been a consequence of English finesse. The French, had they been returned, would not have failed sending immediately back the hostages; but these persons were all the time labouring in their vocation; and their stay at fort du Quesne

* See original Papers, No. 9.

was productive of too great advantages to the English, for them to think seriously of their removal.

The hostages, whose names were Jacob d'Ambraan, and Robert Stobo, were a couple of very expert and finished spies, who contrived a method to keep up a regular correspondence with the English generals. Among the papers, which came into the possession of the French, after the battle of the 9th of July 1755, were the letters which Robert Stobo, one of the hostages, wrote to major Washington. That of the 28th of July, to which is annexed an exact plan of fort du Quesne, of his own drawing, is very well worth reading;† a very just account is therein given by this spy of the situation in which the French were at that time, their number, and their strength. He points out the very moment in which the English might form an attack on the fort, and the most certain method they could take to become masters of it; but what is most singularly observable in this letter, is the testimony which this man, tho' bursting with rage against the French, was forced to give of their pacific dispositions.

The English were very far from entertaining such sentiments; major Washington formed no more enterprises, but it was because he was not sufficiently strong; however, from

* See original Papers, No. 10.

that very time, all the forces of the English colonies were in motion, in order to execute their plan of a general invasion of Canada. This plan was drawn up, and settled in London, at a time, when the English commissaries of Paris, seemed very busy in their endeavours to concur with those of the king, in a plan of reconciliation.

The facts which we are going to relate, deserve the most serious attention, we publish them with reluctance, but our concern for truth, makes such a step unavoidable: moreover, it is become necessary, that Europe now threatened with a bloody war, be made acquainted, at last, with the true authors of a rupture, the consequence of which, cannot be otherwise than fatal.

So early as the 28th of August, 1753, the king of England had sent to the different governors of the English colonies, orders relative to the manner in which they were to behave themselves towards the French. As these orders cannot be produced, there is no judging of their contents, but, by the conduct of the English in their consequence.

All we can collect towards clearing up this dark affair, from his Britannick majesty's instructions, found among the papers of general Braddock, is, that this prince exhorts the governors to act in concert, in order, to car-

ly into execution, a settled and deliberate scheme.

The 3d of July, 1754, new orders were issued by his Britannick majesty; who, in order to their execution, caused a remittance of 10,000 l. sterling, to be sent to the governor of Virginia, and leave to draw upon England for 10,000 l. more.

The 25th and 26th of October, 1754, and the 4th of November, of the same year, the king of England, sent new letters to the governors of the English colonies, containing plans of military operations: this appears from one of general Braddocks instructions, in which he is authorised to call for these letters, and to act accordingly*.

All these steps could not be taken, in consequence of the disputes which had happened on the Ohio, inasmuch as it was impossible to have had, at that time, any knowledge of them in London.

Here then, we see a plan formed, and operations directed by authority; but of what nature were these operations? This is the important point, we are now to proceed to examine into?

In the month of September, 1754, colonel Braddock was appointed by his Britannick majesty, generalissimo of all the troops which

* See original Papers, No. xi.

were in, or to be sent to North-America. These embarkations, which alarmed France, were then preparing in Ireland. We shall see by and by, if these signs of diffidence were not well founded.

Commodore Keppel was appointed to command the fleet, intended to favour the operations by land, and when the vessels were ready for sailing, the king of England caused to be drawn up, an instruction, addressed to general Braddock, consisting of thirteen articles. This he signed at St. James's, the 25th of November.

As this instruction refers to the orders previously given to the governors of the English colonies, it does not descend to a circumstantial detail of the operations with which this general was intrusted : however it appears from the tenor of it, that he was charged with the execution of a plan, in doing which he was to act in concert not only with Mr. Keppel, but also with the governors of the colonies : and moreover, that this plan contained a series of military expeditions of which he was to give an account to the minister, whose province it was to send him from time to time orders that were of a more ample nature.

The Duke of C———d, to whom in all likelihood, his Britannick majesty had left the care of arranging the different parts of the general plan, ordered instructions of a

more particular nature to be addressed to general Braddock: these instructions are contained in a long letter written to him in his royal highness's name by colonel Nappier, and which was dated the same day, being the 25th of November 1754; this letter, well worth attending to, presents us with a regular disposition of all the military operations which had been long before concerted at the court of London; our saying, *long before* will not appear extraordinary to whoever will consider, that colonel Nappier sets out with recalling to general Braddock's mind, who was then in Ireland, that the instructions which he was going to commit to paper, are but the result of those which his royal highness had given to that general in his several conferences and conversations with him.

We shall not here descend into particulars with regard to the contents of this instruction: it reflects more honour on the genius of the general, than it does on the intentions of the prince in whose name it is wrote. It appears from this authentic piece, that a resolution of a general invasion of Canada was most certainly taken so early as the month of November 1754, and very probably several months before; and that the means of securing its success were determined on, and prescribed to the several commanders, whose combined operations

operations were all to be directed to the same end. It appears, that general Braddock was to take fort Du Quesne, thence he was to move further to Niagara, which he was likewise to make himself master of ; that Crown Point was to be attacked and carried by the nationals ; lastly, that colonel Lawrence was to possess himself of the fort of Beau Sejour in the Isthmus, and that all these operations were to be seconded and favoured by the motions of the fleet. The conquered provinces were then to be protected by some forts which was resolved, were to be erected, and the troops, after a campaign, (the operations of which were so well linked,) were to be cantoned in places where they could readily join and assist each other undoubtedly in executing the remaining part of the general plan, and those orders of a more ample nature which the General was made to expect. While the British Ministry laboured at nothing more than imposing on the court of France, by negotiating in the strongest manner, their desire of preserving the peace. General Braddock in concert with admiral Keppel, colonel Shirley, and the governors of the English colonies were exerting themselves in America in warlike preparations. The account which we are going to give of his operations has been taken from the very letters of this general. These letters and the memorials, which, during

ring that time, were delivered to the French ambassador at London, and of which no notice will be taken till we have done with what was transacted in America from the arrival of general Braddock, exhibit a contrast of a very extraordinary nature

This general landed at Williamsburg, capital of Virginia, in the month of February 1755†. All the governors of the English provinces had received their orders before. The chief orders related to the raising of troops and money; a common fund was to be assigned towards the expence of a campaign of this importance; as for the rest, they were directed to execute the general's orders, whose military talents deserved to be employed in a better cause.

At Williamsburgh, he met sir John St. Clair, by whom he was informed of the disposition of the colonies, and the situation of the troops. The independent companies of New-York, were in a very sorry condition. And, as to the provinces, those of Pennsylvania and Maryland, were still very backward in furnishing their contingents: these provinces had received no cause of complaint from their French neighbours; and they were not inclined to break a harmony beneficial to their own trade. The orders of the British court,

† See original Papers, No. 13.

and the letters, which the general wrote on his arrival, met with more success among the other colonies. This gentleman, with a view to accelerate the money supplies, promised the several colonies to be personally accountable to them for the employment of them. M. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, had already succeeded, in raising 20,000 l. sterling; his example raised the emulation of the other governors. The assemblies of the colonies were ordered to meet the May following.

General Braddock appointed Alexandria to be the place of rendezvous for the troops of Virginia, and Maryland; and, instead of cautioning those he had brought with him from Europe, agreeable to his first design, he directed the transports to go up the river Potomac, and to land them at Alexandria, where they were to encamp*.

He took care at the same time, that there should be posts at proper places, in order to keep up a safe correspondence between the army, and the towns of Philadelphia, Annapolis in Maryland, and Williamsburgh: but, as there was no forage to be had on the other side of the mountains, before the end of April, the commencement of the attack was postponed till then,

No time was mispent in the interim. The general's first step was to lock up all the har-

* See original Papers. No. 13.

bours, 'So as, says he; 'no provisions could possibly come to the enemy †,' to this advantage was superadded, that of secrecy, which was observed the whole time of recruiting, while the artillery was providing, and magazines prepared, stocked with all kinds of necessary stores. General-Braddock, and Commodore Keppel communicated constantly to each other, their views and their projects. Some pieces of cannon, of which the land army had not a sufficient number, were supplied by the latter; and, these two so necessary men, never disagreed, but in one single article, viz. The manner in which the French, who they were almost sure, would fall into their hands, were to be used. The orders of the king of England, had been to embark them all, and transport them to France. M. Keppel, who was informed of this resolution, only by general Braddock, was of opinion, the enterprize was of too delicate a nature for him to be concerned in. This excepted, the directions of the court were extremely well complied with; but, the real intent of the nation was doubtful. Commodore Keppel would gladly have it in his power to justify himself to the nation, in case it should disapprove of steps so contrary to the laws of nations. He insisted, therefore, on receiving positive orders, from the general.

† See original Papers, No. 13.

As the troops designed for the invasion of Canada could not be encreased to too great a number : on the one hand, letters were sent to the governors, with orders to receive all the French deserters, to enlist them, and have them supplied with every thing they should desire : on the other, it was industriously reported among the Ohio savages, that the English had no other view, but to protect them from the encroachments of the French ; and the provincial governors were not wanting in their exhortations, that they would meet at Wills's-Creek, on the frontiers of Virginia. But it may be said, that in general, the English have received little assistance from these people. They were not better assisted by the Iroquois. It appears by general Braddock's letters, that of all the Five Nations, (a) the Anies were the only, who gave them any instances of attachment.

To proceed : in order to prevail on the savages to take arms against the French, and ravage their colonies, was one of the subjects, deliberated in the grand council held at Alexandria, towards the middle of April. Colonel Shirley, then governor of New-England, arrived in that city the 13th, in company with the other governors, and colonel Johnson, who of all the English officers, was best acquainted with the genius of the savages, and

(a) See original Papers, No. 13.

the best manner of negotiating with them. Mr. Shirley, if we are to give credit to colonel Nappier's instructions, was fitter for the cabinet than a command. However, he had then erected a fort, with an armed force, on the territories of France, near the source of the river Nourontfouac, which is about thirty leagues from Quebeck. This expedition undoubtedly was what recommended him to the friendship of the general, who ever after gave him distinguishing proofs of his regard, so as may be immediately seen, by his entrusting him, with one of the most important commands. He had already an interview with him at Annapolis in Maryland, where they had, in all likelihood settled together, some of the points, which were afterwards proposed to the consideration of the general council at Alexandria. The minutes of the resolutions taken in this council, were sent to sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, in a letter which the general wrote him, the 19th of April. We are told in this letter, that the plan of that campaign's operations was here finally settled. They seemed linked together in so masterly a manner, that Mr. Braddock feared not to say, the success of one of them ensured that of all the rest. (b) He might have spoke truth: in as much as the ill success of one, occasioned the failure of all the others. For

(b) Letter of April 19, 1754, original Papers, No. 13.

the rest, we will here present the reader with the different parts of the project, such as they were settled and agreed to, in the assembly.

1. It was resolved, that agreeable to a plan concerted between Mr. Shirley and Mr. Lawrence, governor of Acadia, before transmitted to the court of London, colonel Moncton should be directed to attack without loss of time, the French forts towards Acadia. The necessary orders for this expedition were immediately dispatched him.

2. It was agreed that Mr. Johnson, with a body of troops of about four thousand and four hundred men, raised in the northern provinces, should surprise fort Frederick, and make himself master thereof.

3. That Mr. Shirley with his own, and Pepperel's regiments, should take upon himself the attack of the fort of Niagara; that he should have a sufficient number of Battoes to transport his troops and artillery by lake Ontario, and that a sufficient reinforcement should be sent to the garrison of Oswego: which was intended to assist him if necessary, and to facilitate his retreat in case of a defeat

4. Besides the attack on fort Frederick, colonel Johnston was entrusted with an important negotiation with the Iroquois: whom to determine to a war was absolutely resolved on. General Braddock was not ignorant how formidable those barbarians prove to the nation which they consider as in enmity. He gave Mr

Johnson's speeches ready prepared, (c) and 2000 livres which were to be employed in presents.

5. There now remained but the expedition which the General reserved for himself: it has been but too well known by its ill success. It was resolved that he should set out for Frederick's town the 20th of April, from whence he was to proceed to the mountains: where it was supposed he should arrive about the beginning of May; so as to be able to complete, in the month of June, the execution of his intended plan on the Ohio.

Such was neither more nor less, the plan which was by it intended, than to open all the avenues of Canada to the English, and to make them masters of the river St. Laurence: each commander knew both his particular destination, and the relation which his commission had with all those, which were to be executed at the same time. The only business now was by accelerating the invasion. And to take the French unawares. General Braddock, who had spent the last days of April, and the first of May at Frederick's Town, arrived at Fort Cumberland the 10th of May; to which place the whole army came up the 17th, after a very laborious march of twenty-seven days. This army amounted only to 2000 effective men. And, indeed, its business only, was the taking of

Fort du Quesne : after which it was to reinforce the body of troops commanded by Mr. Shirley, before Niagara.

Mr. Braddock seems not to have been wanting at this time in serious reflections on the difficulties of his undertaking ; his uneasiness appears in a letter to Sir Thomas Robinson on the 5th of June, where he complains of the want of zeal in the colonies to second him, of the dangers he was exposed to, and the expence he was obliged to be at in transporting artillery and ammunition into countries hitherto uninhabited, and unknown to the inhabitants themselves ; (d) he was still at fort Cumberland when he wrote this letter. He set out from thence towards the end of June, and the unfortunate event of the battle fought the 9th of July, which put an end to his life, and his projects, is already well known.

Colonel Johnson, set out immediately after the breaking up of the assembly at Alexandria, in order to execute on his part, the commission which he was entrusted with. He spent the best part of the month of May among the Mohawk Indians, and in continual endeavours to animate them to a war. Nothing was omitted that could make the French appear odious : but neither calumnies nor presents were attended with that success which the En-

(d) See original Papers, No. 14.

glish flattered themselves with. It was attempted in vain to make the Anies believe that the French had possessed themselves of several lands which were the property not of England (for he dared not venture so far) but the Indians in their alliance. These people who have more penetration than they are generally supposed to have, were not the dupes of this speech: however, in return, they paid a great many compliments; but refused to come to any resolution, on pretence that this point must be previously canvassed in a general assembly of the nations. On the other hand, the speeches of Colonel Johnson and the Indian chiefs are sufficient evidence, that these people do not acknowledge the English to have any right to dictate laws to them. Both nations treat each other as equals. The Iroquois, who betrayed little or no disposition at that time to enter into an alliance with England, are become irreconcilable enemies, since those imprudent proclamations, by which the English commanders appointed rewards for their scalps.

During this important negotiation, Colonel Johnson had his thoughts bent on the future attack of Crown-point. The 5th of May he wrote to the governors, from whom he was to receive supplies of men and artillery. (e) We have a proof in this letter, on the one hand, of a resolution having been taken to bom-

(e) See original Papers, No. 15.

bard the fort; on the other, that the English flattered themselves they might make their appearance before the place e're the French could have any suspicion of their project. We must, says he, be very quick in our preparations, in order that our march be not retarded, by which the enemy might be confirmed in their suspicion of an attack: if unfortunately they should be apprised of it.

Every thing being ready; on the side of Acadia, for the execution of the attack, on the forts of the Isthmus, Colonel Monckton began, with issuing the 3d of May, in the name of governor Lawrence, a proclamation directing all and every the inhabitants of the French territories beyond the Isthmus, to repair to the English camp, where they were to bring all their arms. (f) This was certainly that same country with respect to which his Britannick Majesty had, (even since the erected forts, *English* as well as *French*,) engaged his formal promise, that no innovation should take place till the commissaries did come to a determination. Colonel Monckton the 16th and 17th of June following bombarded and took the ports of Beausejour and Gaspereau.

We are now come down to that period wherein the rupture broke out between both courts. It would have happened much sooner, had the court of France had earlier informa-

(f) See original Papers, No. 16.

tions of his Britannick Majesty's resolutions : but at the very time that this plan of invasion, concerted before the year 1754, was carrying into execution in America, the British ministry were busy in their endeavours to amuse France, by the means of negociations. War was carrying on beyond the seas : while people in Europe, were solely taken up with a system of pacification, and proper methods to prevent a rupture, on which England was already determined.

The sole view of England in this negotiation, of which Europe had notice, was to gain the time necessary to carry into execution at once, all the parts of their project. And indeed it will soon appear, that the more France became tractable, the greater number of new difficulties was raised by his Britannick Majesty's ministers, in order to elude a conciliation. Till from the letters of General Braddock, the court of London having no further doubt about the success, his Britannick Majesty gave express orders for the carrying on openly a war at sea, and attacking, without distinction, all the King's ships.

That these were the views of the British court, will appear by a particular account of the negociations in which the French ministry were very seriously employed : and, in which that of Great-Britain appeared to be so, during the first six months of 1755.

In the month of January of this year, his Majesty being desirous to prevent the consequences

quences of the differences arisen between the French and the English on the banks of the Ohio, the cause of which as has been above seen, could have been laid to the charge of the latter only, had given in to the court of London by the hands of the Duke de Mirepoix a memorial coinciding with these intentions.

In this memorial *a*, which is of the 15th of January, it was proposed by the King to his Britannick Majesty, that, previous to any examination into the grounds and circumstances of this quarrel, positive orders should be sent to the respective governors, inhibiting henceforward any new encroachment or hostile act; and that they should be even directed to re-establish, without delay, matters on the territories situated towards the banks of the Ohio, on the same footing that they were, or ought to have been, on or before the late war.

The King desired at the same time, that their respective pretensions to this territory should be referred amicably to the commissaries; and that in order to remove all apprehensions, his Britannick Majesty would be pleased to explain himself openly, with respect to the destination and motives of the armament which had been made in Ireland.

Had this proposal been accepted, the fort Du Quesne, which the General was ordered to attack, would have been destroyed by the

a See original Papers No. 1.

French themselves, and the commissaries of both nations, would have canvassed in an amicable manner, the titles and possessions of both crowns.

An answer to this memorial was delivered to the Duke de Mirepoix the 22d of January 1755 *b*. This answer is composed of two parts; and though the first appears somewhat captious, yet the second was free from any sort of double meaning; and ought to have been sufficient to quiet the apprehensions of the court of France, with regard to the armament in Ireland.

1. His Britannick Majesty desires, that the possession of the territory towards the river Ohio, may be re-established on the same footing it was on, at the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht; and agreeable to the stipulations of that treaty. He insists likewise on the same regulation with regard to all the other possessions of North America; and consents, after a compliance with these preliminary conditions, to enter into a negociation concerning the properest methods of instructing the respective governors; and forbidding them all new acts of violence; and that the pretensions on each side may be submitted to be expeditiously and finally discussed, and amicably adjusted, by the ministers of the respective courts.

b See original Papers, No. 2.

2. His

2 His Britannick Majesty declares, that the defence of his rights and possessions, and the protection of his subjects have been the only motive of the armament that had been sent to North America ; which was done without any intent to give offence to any power whatsoever, or commit any act that might interrupt the general peace.

It was hard to conceive how the treaty of Utrecht, could be made a handle of, to settle the rights of either nation, on the Ohio ; or how it was possible to require, as a previous step to every negociation, that the other territories in dispute should be re-established in the same state they were in, at the conclusion of this treaty ; and agreeably to the stipulations therein contained.

At the time of the treaty of Utrecht France had the possession : whereas it was France made concessions. As to the extensiveness of this cession, and the sense in which the stipulations of the treaty were to be understood, that was the very point agreed on to be submitted to the decision of the commissaries. And the King of England had engaged his word, that there should be no innovation, till they came to a decision.

It was therefore that the court of France still insisted on its first demand ; and at the same time that it gave his Britannick Majesty assurances of the confidence, which it reposed in the "sincerity of his declaration, it

was made appear, in a reply delivered to the court of London, the 6th of February, that the medium proposed by his Majesty was the only expedient that could prevent some disagreeable troubles. This method was proved to be agreeable to the engagements contracted by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle; to the measures taken since that æra, and the terms demanded by England itself, in 1750 and 1751. And indeed whereas the object of the commission agreed to by the court of London, was to determine the sense of the articles XII. and XIII. of the treaty of Utrecht, the execution of these articles, could not be considered as the basis of the negociation. That were making a principle of conduct, and a certain rule of the very question, that was submitted to the decision of commissaries.

It was therefore proposed by his Majesty :
1st, That orders should be sent by both kings to the respective governors, to forbear all acts of violence and every new enterprize.

2. That matters should be restored to the same state in which they were, or ought to have been in, before the late war, all over North America; agreeable to the eleventh article of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

3. That, agreeable to the eighteenth article of the same treaty, his Britannick majesty should apprise the commissaries, sitting at Paris, of his pretensions; and the foundations on which they were built.

Then

Then, in answer to the question asked by the court of London in its last memorial, concerning the intent of the armaments making by his majesty, it was not dissembled, that those which the British court had itself given publick notice of to all Europe, and which it had executed in part, had rendered the precautions taken by France necessary.

In sometime after, France condescended to yield further to difficulties formed by the court of London. She consented to adhere provisionally to matters as they stood immediately after the treaty of Utrecht; and the Duke de Mirepoix presented to his Britannick majesty's ministers the project of a preliminary convention; and there was no doubt made of the conditions proving acceptable *c.* The stipulations were, that both sovereigns should agree, to send orders for the suspension of all acts of violence on both sides: that the French and English should, provisionally, evacuate all the country situate between the Ohio and the Apalachian mountains; and that they should retire, those to this side the mountains, these to the other side the river. That all this country should, during the time of this convention, be considered as a neutral country, the frequenting which should not be allowable to either nation; that things should be re-established on the same footing they have been,

c See original Papers, No. 4.

or ought to have been on, since the treaty of Utrecht ; and that all the forts, on both sides, built, since that epoch, on the territories in dispute should be demolished.

Lastly, It was agreed by their majesties, that they should cause all the points in dispute to be canvassed, and amicably settled, by the commissaries appointed for that purpose, within the space of two years.

This was acquiescing, as we plainly see, in the proposal made by the court of London, in its memorial of the 22d of January, 1755. The court of France negociated with so much the more confidence, as the king of England's ministers had, very recently, given assurances to the Duke de Mirepoix, that the armaments in Ireland, and the fleet which had sailed from thence, were chiefly intended to maintain subordination and good order among the English colonies.

Those same ministers who dreaded nothing so much as an accommodation ; and who were well informed that at that time, Mr. Braddock, and all the English commanders were on their march, were to the last degree surprized at seeing France, thus submitting, in some sort, to their demands. They therefore resolved to alter the plan, they had themselves proposed ; and the 7th of March there was delivered, by their direction, to the Duke de Mirepoix, another project of convention, which they never would have thought of ; but that they were
very

very sensible it was impossible to agree to it *d.*

It was to be stipulated in this convention, that the two powers should agree to dispatch orders for the cessation of all acts of violence ; but this was not to take place till such time as the French had submitted to the following conditions. 1. That not only the forts situated between the Apalachian mountains and the Ohio ; but also, all the settlements situated between the Ohio and the river Ouabache, or of St. Jerom, should be demolished and destroyed. 2. That the forts on the Niagara, and fort Frederick on lake Champlain, should be also rased; and that the lakes Ontario, Erie and Champlain should belong to nobody ; but should be open to the subjects of both crowns equally, who might carry on their trade thereon, without being molested. 3. That a definitive cession should be made to England, not only of the part in dispute, of the Peninsula, situated to the north of Acadia, but likewise, of the space of twenty leagues from south to north, in all that extent of country that runs from the Pentagoet river to the Gulph of St. Laurence. 4. And Lastly, That all the southern bank of the river St. Laurence, should be declared to be the property of neither, and should remain uninhabited.

d See original Papers, No. 5.

On these terms, his Britannick majesty was graciously pleased, to entrust the commissaries of both nations, with the decision of the surplus of his pretensions.

Thus did the court of London render the preliminary negotiation as long, and subject to as many difficulties as the principal negotiation. It was all it wished for: the court of France perceived that the tendency of proposals so widely different from the first, was to retard the conclusion of a preliminary convention; it therefore insisted on the necessity of beginning, previous to any thing else, with issuing orders respectively, to prevent any future enterprise, or act of violence. It even proposed that both courts should communicate to each other mutually the orders which they sent; but to this, so equitable proposal, an answer, absolutely negative, was delivered to the Duke de Mirepoix the 5th of April 1755 *f*.

Nothing now was to be done but to impugn the project of convention on which the court of London insisted. It was no hard task to prove that the preliminary convention required by England, begun by giving absolutely against France the question in debate; with regard to which his Britannick Majesty had engaged his formal promise, that he would abide by the determination of the commissaries. By this project the French must have parted irretrievably with

• See original Papers, No. 6. *f* No. 7,

the trade of Canada by the river St. John, deprived the King of the property of the three lakes, which were always considered as a part of New France: and the river St. Laurence, which is the center of Canada, became the limits of that colony. These points were all discussed in a letter of the 13th of April 1755 *, by which the French minister informed the Duke de Mirepoix of his majesty's intentions, and his answer to the project proposed by England. This answer was no less than an absolute refusal to close with the same.

The 24th of April 1755, the ministers of London delivered to the French ambassador a sort of a reply to this letter; they had received then no account of the last dispositions made in America; and in England, they had no certainty that all these operations which were carefully concealed, could be carried at the same time into execution. It became therefore necessary to spin out still the negotiation to a sufficient length. Wherefore we see † that in this reply the court of England complains of the narrow bounds which the French ministers prescribe to their reflections: it is even added, that this court is ready and willing to enter into an examination of all the contested points, and that in the course of such examination it may possibly be found out

* See original Papers, No. 8. † No. 9.

in what the most essential differences consist. His majesty was therefore still satisfied to enter into an examination and to canvass the points which obstructed the conclusion of the preliminary treaty *. Assurances of this disposition were given by the Duke de Mirepoix to the British ministry the 6th of May 1755 ; and in a memorial which was delivered to this ambassador the 9th of the said month, the court of London affected to express the greatest satisfaction thereat in the following words †.

“ ’Tis with the greatest satisfaction the court of Great Britain observes, by the answer which his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix has delivered to Sir Thomas Robinson the 6th of this month, that not only the court of France persists in its resolution for the preservation of peace, but also that its dispositions are the same with those which England was always, and is still in, towards entering without any delay, into the examination and amicable discussion of all the points in contest. The procedure of the court of London in all this negotiation has been so candid and so full of confidence,” &c.

’Tis needless to take notice of the date of this memorial, every one may compare it with those of General Braddock’s letters, of which mention has been made above, and

* See original Papers, No. 10. † No. 11.

endeavour to reconcile this candour and confidence, with the hostilities committed then in America, while the British ministers were giving such constant, formal, and repeated assurances to his majesty's ambassador. The resolution of a rupture began to become publick all over London, with this additional circumstance, that Admiral Boscawen, who had been just gone, had orders to attack the French vessels wherever he found them. The pretended encroachments of France were no longer mentioned as the motive of the war; it was the necessity of laying hold on this opportunity to destroy her commerce, and put it out of her power to re-establish her marine.

These reports were so constant and so universal, that the Duke de Mirepoix thought fit to acquaint his court with them. This he did, notwithstanding the most formal assurances, which the British ministers gave him repeatedly, of their pacific intentions. They constantly repeated to him, that he ought not to give credit to public reports or writings. These same ministers were not content with this; the Duke de Mirepoix having so early as the latter end of April, expressed some uneasiness at the destination of Admiral Boscawen's fleet, and the orders which were given him; they assured him positively that the English would not begin first.

'Tis not to be wondered that France relying on so many appearances of good faith, should have thought it incumbent on her to go on with the negociation. The English ministers never ventured on one proposition, without giving plainly to understand that they had still something in reserve. The Duke de Mirepoix gave in therefore, the 12th of May, a memorial much more extensive than the former ones *, and in which were discussed the rights and interests of both nations, relative to the articles of the preliminary convention, with regard to which they had not hitherto been able to come to an agreement.

The English ministry having made him wait the remaining part of the month of May and the first days of June, they returned an answer the 7th, and whoever observes that it was on the 8th of this month Admiral Boscawen gave the signal of an open rupture, will be convinced, that this delay was part of the court of London's plan of measures. In this answer, which was postponed with so much skill, the ministry of London renew the very grounds of all their pretensions on America; we are reminded of the right derived to the English from their empire over the Iroquois, the pretended sale made by these to the English; in short, it contains all those questions on the

† See original Papers, No. 12.

subject of Acadia, the decision of which had been referred to the commissaries of both nations. The object of a preliminary convention was now laid aside, though proposed as the only method to prevent hostilities, and to enable the two crowns to negotiate in an amicable manner. This brought the very grounds of the quarrel on the carpet, but it little then concerned England, which aimed only at gaining time, which was now drawing near that period, in which her enterprises must become public.

The 15th of July news was received at London of the taking of two French vessels, the Alcide and the Lys, attacked on the banks of Newfoundland by Admiral Boscawen, whose words were all words of peace till such time as his artillery was in a situation to fire into the very ships, point blank, or till he had come within half a cannon shot. If any thing could exceed the surprise of his majesty's ambassador in London at this piece of news, it must have been occasioned by the insinuation of one of the English ministers in ascribing such evident hostilities to a mistake: nay, the secretary of state would fain persuade him that this event ought not to break the thread of the negotiation. No doubt but it would have been more advantageous to the British ministry, had France gone on negotiating till such time as they received a certain account of the execution of the general plan of in-

invasion, the success of which at that time was looked on as infallible.

The world may judge from this narrative, whether the French Ambassador's departure from London can be taxed with too much precipitation, as it is pretended by the court of Great Britain in the memorial, to which we have now given a reply, composed solely of facts.

What has passed since this departure, as well in Europe as in America, has been of too publick and notorious a nature to need a relation of it in this place. That which we have here given both of the military operations and the political negotiations of England, will be sufficient to convey a just idea, not only of the causes of the rupture, but likewise of the views by which both powers were conducted.

Such are the facts, not one of which can be disclaimed by England, let Europe give judgment.

End of the Memorial.

EXTRACT
FROM THE
BRUNNEN COURTES MEMORIAL

Delivered to the French Ministry of War
on July 17, 1797, in answer to the
Circular of the French Ministry of War
dated June 15, 1797.

THE FRENCH MINISTRY OF WAR
has the honor to inform you that
the French Ministry of War has
received the Circular of the French
Ministry of War dated June 15, 1797,
and has the honor to inform you that
the French Ministry of War has
received the Circular of the French
Ministry of War dated June 15, 1797,
and has the honor to inform you that
the French Ministry of War has
received the Circular of the French
Ministry of War dated June 15, 1797,

The two copies of the Circular of the French
Ministry of War dated June 15, 1797,
have been forwarded to the French
Ministry of War, and the French
Ministry of War has the honor to
inform you that the French
Ministry of War has received the
Circular of the French Ministry of War
dated June 15, 1797.

1

NUMBER I.

EXTRACT

OF THE

British Court's Memorial,

Delivered to the French MINISTER, the 24th of July, 1749, in answer to those, presented on the king's part, concerning the Settlements projected by ENGLAND.

THE king, having made some reflections on the memorial presented to his excellency the duke of Bedford, the 7th of last month, by the sieur Durand his most christian majesty's chargé d'affaires at the court of England, has ordered, that a representation should be made to the said chargé d'affaires, in the following manner, of the several observations, which appear necessary to be made, on the said memorial.

The two points, concerning which the most christian king desires an explanation, viz. the settlement of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia; and the project ascribed to Mr. Dobbs, are so little liable in themselves to any objection on the

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part

part of any power whatsoever, that it will be no difficult matter to efface the ill impressions which the court of France might have conceived from the false reports that possibly have been suggested to it on that head.

The only thing, which might have with justice given umbrage to the court of France, were a well grounded apprehension of the king's having given orders for extending the settlements in New Scotland, beyond what his majesty was entitled to by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht.

But this apprehension falls of itself; as the king, agreeable to the desires of the most christian king, has consented to refer to the commissaries the settling of the limits of New Scotland, according to its ancient boundaries; as well as the limits of, and right of possession to the several Islands and countries, about which the two nations have any dispute: moreover, is it to be supposed the king would make settlements, which are necessarily attended with so much expence, in a part of the province to which his right was not clear and indisputable?

The limits therefore, of Nova Scotia being referred to the examination of the commissaries, it is needless here to make replies to all the assertions contained on that subject, in the said memorial of the sieur Durand.

The sieur Durand has also taken some sort of notice in his memorial of the plan designed

signed by Mr. Dobbs; as if tending to encroach on the trade, which the French carry on with the Indians of North Canada, and to extend the British settlements in those parts, in a manner prejudicial to the rights of his most christian majesty. He has not descended to any particulars on this head, on account of the objects of the said plan not being sufficiently known in France.

But let that be as it will, it were very easy to give an entire satisfaction to the court of France, on this head, by assuring it, that this plan which has been debated on in parliament, had absolutely no other object, than to lay open to the whole nation an exclusive trade, which had been a long time engrossed by a company, that had derived its privilege from a particular charter. And this, with the sole view of extending trade in general, in these parts: and, in no ways, with an intent to enlarge the possessions of the nation, at the expence of any other people whatsoever.

But as this plan has not met with the approbation of parliament, it has been laid aside, and is now of course, out of the question: Yet, had it been executed, it does not appear, why it should afford to the court of France any pretence to complain. Inasmuch as it related only to a domestic affair of the kingdoms, viz. whether a trade carried on, a long time, to Hudson's Bay, should be continued to be carried on, exclusively, by a particular company?

pany? Or, whether it should be laid open to all his majesty's subjects?

The king, having therefore thus explained his sentiments, is very ready to declare in answer to the demands made by the court of France.

1. That effectual orders have been already given to make no attempt either on the side of Nova Scotia, or that of Hudson's Bay, on the possessions or trade of his most christian majesty's subjects, or that might be in any ways derogatory to the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle, or to any prior engagements actually subsisting between both crowns.

2. That his majesty consents to appoint, out of hand, two commissaries to confer in Paris with those of his most christian majesty on the subject of the respective limits now in dispute, between the two crowns, as well those that relate to Nova Scotia or Acadia, as those of the other parts of the continent, where the settlements of both nations border on each other; as well as to determine (agreeable to the proposal made in a former memorial) which are the islands that are to belong to each crown, and those that are to remain neutral.

His majesty, previous to his having given orders for the making those settlements in that part of Nova Scotia, to which, though undoubtedly belonging to his majesty, France has laid claim, has agreed to refer his pretensions

pretensions to the decision of commissaries, as a convincing proof of his desire to preserve the union and harmony so happily reestablished between both crowns.

NUMBER II.

A letter from my Lord Albemarle to the Marquis de Puyfieulx, containing complaints on the sending of a detachment by M. de la Jonquiere, in order to protect the inhabitants of Chepoudi.

Paris, March 25, 1750.

I Have just received a letter from the Duke of Bedford, with the King's orders directing me to represent to your excellency the subjects of complaint to which his most christian majesty's governors in America have given occasion, by incroaching on the King's territories in Nova Scotia. 'Tis with great regret his majesty finds himself under the necessity of making representations against any of his most christian majesty's subjects; and the more so as he had flattered himself, that after those which I made by his orders in the month of September last, and your excellency's answer relative to the settlement which M. de la Galiffoniere had undertaken to make at the mouth of John's river, positive orders had been sent to the French governors, not only

only to put an end to all subjects of dispute, but also to be very careful hereafter to avoid every thing that might give occasion to new strifes.

The King has, notwithstanding, lately received letters from the Sieur Cornwallis, his governor of New Scotland, by which he complains, that M. de la Jonquiere has sent troops to Chipoudi ; which is one of the districts that had sent deputies to governor Cornwallis on his arrival in that province, in order to make the proper submission and receive the King's orders. There cannot be a stronger argument that these inhabitants have considered themselves as subjects of Great Britain, since the province of Nova Scotia has been annexed to that crown.

'Tis needless here to repeat all the reasons that authorise his majesty to demand the justice which this new step of M. de la Jonquiere entitles him to ; they cannot but be known to his most christian majesty.

After the formal orders given by the King to all his governors, to be continually mindful that all these disputes are to be adjusted in an amicable manner, and consequently to avoid carefully all hostile procedure * so long as the honour and rights of the crown did not require

* This is what M. Cornwallis has not done: since it is certain, that the fort of the Minas, and that of Beau-bassin were built, before the French erected those of Beaufejour, and Gaspereau ; and, that these were not

it indispenfibly; it will be fufficient, without taking any notice here of the King's incontestible right, that the same motive of reciprocation intervenes to determine his most christian majesty to give fimilar orders to M. de la Jonquiere, to reestablish all things in their first state, till such time as the commissaries, to whom has been referred by agreement the decifion of the limits in America, have settled the rights of both crowns; and to desist from every enterprife which might tend to give the least interruption to the union so happily re-established between both nations. The King is perfuaded his most christian majesty will be the more inclinable to make such salutary and amicable difpofitions, that small altercations of this nature, if not feasonably prevented, may be attended with bad consequences.

I am, &c.

Signed, ALBEMARLE.

built, till the violences of M. Cornwallis had forced the French inhabitants of the Isthmus to retire into the heart of the country. This is a fact, which the English cannot deny, the epochs of the construction of the forts, being a matter of certainty between both nations.

The

The Marquis de Puyfieulx's answer to the foregoing letter.

Versailles, March 31, 1750.

SIR,

I Received the letter your excellency did me the honour to write me the 25th, containing the complaints of your court concerning the step taken by the Marquis de la Jonquiere, governor of New France, in having sent a detachment of troops to Chipoudi; as the Comte de la Galiffoniere, his predecessor, had done heretofore to the river of St. John.

The British court might have seen the reasons which authorised the conduct of both these governors, in a memorial given in, in the month of June last, wherein the river St. John and Chipoudi have been demonstrated to be on the continent of Canada.

As to the submissions which might have been made, previous to the arrival of this detachment from Canada, to the English governor of Acadia, by some of the inhabitants of Chipoudi intimidated by the menaces of this governor, no right could from thence be derived to Great Britain, nor could they hinder these inhabitants from being French, and settled on French ground. They would only tend to prove, that if there has been any discussion on this frontier, it must have been

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occasioned by some innovations on the part of the English governor*. And the fact is, that the precautions which the French governors have thought it incumbent upon them to take, have had no other object, but to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, alarmed by these innovations.

But, there ought to be no more altercations on this head between the respective governors; since orders have been sent, to make no innovation, till such time as the limits are settled, which is to be done by commissaries. The marquis de la Jonquière, could not have received these orders, when he had sent the detachment to Chepoudi. As they could not have been sent him, till the latter end of this winter; which they are not ignorant of in England.

As for the rest, all this ought only to make the necessity of the commissaries thus entering on business more sensible, in order to the settling the limits of the possessions of the two crowns in America. And I am directed by the king,

* These forced submissions of some inhabitants were effectually the consequence of the English governor's menaces, and are an instance of a recent encroachment. How came the English not to dream, since the treaty of Utrecht, of making the authority of their government acknowledged in this country? The truth even, of any inhabitants having made submissions at that time, is not well attested. However, it is certain, the greatest part of the inhabitants, addressed themselves for protection to the marquis de la Jonquière, against these violent proceedings.

to renew his solicitations for that purpose, with the king of Great Britain ; his majesty insists on this affair, with the more eagerness, as the end of their meeting is to keep up the good understanding, so happily re-established between the two crowns, and their subjects : and, that the king has nothing more at heart, than the maintaining, and settling it on a firm basis.

I am, &c.

Signed PUYSEULX.

N U M B E R I I I .

MEMORIAL delivered on the king's part, to my lord Albemarle, the 5th of January, 1751, and sent the same day to the duke de Mirepoix in England ; containing complaints made by France, against the hostilities committed, and avowed by the English.

FOR several months past, the public papers have proclaimed several acts of violence committed by the English on the French vessels ; both in the gulph of St. Laurence, and on the coasts of New France. But, these accounts appeared to be so contrary to the law of nations, and the amicable dispositions, of which the British court has given so many instances since the peace ; that they
met

met with no sort of credit. And, we could not but be surpris'd to the last degree, on having received, just now, intimations by letters from Canada, and Cape Breton, that the English vessels act in these seas, in the same manner, as they might do, in case of an open war.

These vessels have spread themselves all the last summer, to the very upper end of the gulph of St. Laurence, stopping and insulting all the French vessels that they met. They attempted to carry off a brigantine, which lay at anchor in the river of St. John, and was sent thither by the intendant of Canada, with provisions for the detachments of the king's troops in those parts. But, not being able to attain their ends, the English captain carried off some of the seamen, belonging to the brigantine, who have been sent back to Cape Breton by M. Cornwallis, governor of Acadia. But without descending to particulars, relating to the irregularities, and all the acts of violence put in practice by the English shipping; we shall here confine ourselves to two facts.

The first is, the taking of a French vessel, called the London Captain Lalain, by two English snows armed. This little vessel had been sent by the intendant of Canada, to Che-daic in the gulph of St. Laurence, with provisions for the king's troops at that place; and, at the same time to carry the ammunition, goods and provisions, which the king is wont to send annually, as presents to the savages of

a French mission. It was on its return from Chedaic, where she had unloaded, that this vessel was stopped towards the end of August, between the coast of Canada and Cape Breton. It was afterwards carried into Chebucto, where it was confiscated.

The second is likewise the taking of a French brigantine by a frigate belonging to the King of Great Britain. The circumstance of which will undoubtedly appear to his Britannic majesty, of much a more aggravating nature than that of the first. The Marquis de la Jonquiere having had intimations of the conduct of the English vessels, of which he had made several complaints to M. Cornwallis, and being desirous to send the necessary supplies to the detachments of troops on John's river, resolved, in the month of September last, to arm at Quebeck the brigantine, the St. Francis, in order to convoy a sloop, on board which the intendant had caused these succours to be shipped. He conferred on the sieur de Vergor, a captain in the troops, the command of this brigantine, which carried ten small cannons, and whose crew consisted of sixty men, including thirty soldiers. The instructions which he gave to captain Vergor contained strict and positive orders to make no attempt against the English ships which he should meet ; and in case he should meet with any that attempted to oppose his passage, he was charged by the governor not to fire at her
till

till the attack was begun by the Englishman, and till he had given him notice that he commanded a vessel belonging to the king of France, armed to carry provisions to his troops. The 16th of October, the brigantine and the other vessel being at two leagues west of the islands of Seal, captain Vergor discovered, at eleven in the morning, an English frigate, which came across him and bore down on him in an instant right before the wind, and crowding all her sails. In half an hour after this, the frigate fired a cannon with ball into the stern of the brigantine, and hoisted her flag. Captain Vergor hoisted immediately both his streamer and flag, and gave them a shot, still pursuing his way. The frigate also continued the chase, and being, in half an hour, come up with him, and within shot of a six pounder, fired a second shot at him, and put up her streamer; in a little time after she fired a third shot, which went through the sail of captain Vergor's foretopmast, who then prepared himself for fighting in case of a fresh insult; the frigate, being come still nearer, fired four cannon shots at his sails. Agreeable to the orders he had received from the marquis de la Jonquiere, he caused a person to cry out in French, that this was a ship belonging to the king of France, and going with provisions and ammunition for the use of his majesty's troops. The answer of the English commander being, that he must either bring to, or he would

would sink him. Captain Vergor had the same thing repeated to him in English; but the only answer was a whole volley of his cannon and small arms. The fight lasted five hours, but the brigantine was so much damaged in her mast, which was cut, and in her sails and rigging, that captain Vergor was obliged to surrender himself; after having several of his men killed or wounded. The long-boat having been also disabled, the English captain sent his boat in order to fetch him on board; when captain Vergor discovered this frigate to be the Albany, carrying fourteen pieces of cannon, twenty-eight swivels, and a hundred and twenty men, commanded by captain Rous. This captain ordered also on board his ship the crew and the soldiers belonging to the brigantine, where he left none but the wounded, and made the best of his way for Chibucto with the brigantine in tow. It was but the 19th of the same month that they arrived at Chibucto. The next day the governor sent on board the frigate for captain Vergor, who was immediately conducted to the governor's house, where he was locked up in a chamber. In half an hour after M. Cornwallis came to him, and had the chamber again locked. He at first told him, he was very sorry for what had happened, and that captain Rous had lost a great many of his men: captain Vergor answered, that he was also very sorry for what had passed, and that

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it ought to be imputed only to captain Rous, of whose conduct he informed him. M. Cornwallis replied, that if things had passed in the manner he said they did, captain Rous was in the fault, and that he would call his council the next day in order to decide the matter. The council was actually called captain Rous, his lieutenant, and some of his crew, were brought before the council, to which captain Vergor was likewise admitted the last recited the faults in the manner they were already specified. Captain Rous could not deny but that he had begun first, by firing a cannon ball at the brigantine's foretop-sail.

On this the governor got up, and having ordered into the council chamber the officers belonging to the brigantine, who had been previously brought into a room contiguous to it, they were summoned to tell who it was that fired the first shot? They all answered, that it was captain Rous, who had fired two vollies. Captain Vergor's declaration was then read to them, and they all certified it to be true, in all its circumstances. Notwithstanding the council came to no resolution, either in this, or in five or six other sittings, which were held afterwards. But in two or three days after the first, M. Cornwallis asked captain Vergor, what should be wanting to refit the brigantine for the sea, offering to supply him therewith. He represented to him, that he could not do without a great mast, and four
pieces

pieces of cordage. The governor promised him every thing, and had actually a mast cut, which was brought from the woods by the brigantine's crew, and bid captain Vergor to begin the mending of his sails, shrouds, and other things necessary. This captain was going to take his measures in consequence, when behold! captain Rous appeals to the admiralty, where the brigantine is condemned as a lawful prize. In a letter which M. Cornwallis has wrote to M. Desherbiers, commandant of Cape Breton, when he returned him captain Vergor, and the crew belonging to the brigantine, with the arms of the soldiers, who were part of it, he tells him, the admiralty had pronounced this sentence of confiscation for having carried on an unlawful trade in his Britannic majesty's province. These are the words he makes use of.

We are of opinion, all discussions on a question of this kind, may be dispensed with. Here is an armed vessel, on the king's service, commanded by an officer of his majesty's, attacked and fought, as in a time of open war. We have too good an opinion of the uprightness of his Britannic majesty's intentions to ascribe, to any order of his, an enterprise, so directly opposite to all laws. And, we make no doubt, but, upon being informed of the facts, the greatest reliance may be had on his equity; not only with respect to the justice, and satisfaction due for the said captures

tures ; but also, the orders proper to be given to prevent the like excesses for the future.

Extract of a letter from captain Rous, commander of his majesty's sloop the Albany, dated from Chebucto harbour in Nova Scotia, October 31, 1750 .

THE next day, after I had left John's river, in doubling cape Sable, about noon, I discovered a brigantine and a schooner coming round this cape, about two miles from the coast, steering north-west : and as I had notice given me of a pyrate brigantine being on this coast†, I immediately began to chace in order to speak with her. They no sooner perceived us, than they made a signal to the schooner which was in company, and which in consequence changed her course to west south-west. Being arrived within distance of a random shot, the brigantine steering west north-west, I fired a cannon across the stern of the brigantine in order to bring her to ; the schooner bearing away with all her sails. The

* This extract was given to his majesty's minister, by the English ambassador, by way of excuse for the conduct of the English.

Captain Rous alters the facts, and suppresses many essential circumstances ; yet, he cannot help confessing himself the aggressor.

* It is by Means of this bad excuse that the English have always endeavoured to gloss over their hostilities by sea.

brigantine set up French colours immediately and answered with a cannon shot; the schooner did the same without putting up a flag. Being come within cannon shot, I fired another cannon before her stern; upon which they answered still with another shot, lowered their main sail, and furled it, in order to make room for their small arms and make ready for an engagement. Being come near enough to them I hailed them, but they made no answer: I then gave orders for the firing a six pounder, and went on hailing; while this was doing, being come very close to her, the brigantine turned to our starboard, and tacking a little to the south in order to present us her larboard, she sent us all her volley of cannon and small arms; while we continued hailing without receiving any answer. I immediately returned the compliment, and they continued the fight during two hours and a half; after which some body cried out to us in English that they would fire no longer. I ordered them therefore to come to, and I sent on board the lieutenant, who returned with the captain of the brigantine and his papers, by which I found that this ship was a French brigantine, called the St. Francis, of about an hundred and twenty tons, carrying ten guns and four swivels, her crew consisting of sixty men including thirty soldiers; that this vessel had been laden at Quebec with arms, ammunition, cloaths, and provisions

provisions for the Indians, and was armed, in order to convoy a schooner which had the same lading, and which got away during the fight.

I brought this brigantine into this port, where she has been condemned as a lawful prize by the court of admiralty, as carrying on a contraband trade; which your lordships will see by the copy of the said court's sentence here annexed.

We had two men killed and one wounded in the engagement. The brigantine had six killed and seven wounded. The master or commander of the brigantine says she is a king's ship; but he has no brevet, and only an order of the governor of Canada to take upon himself the command of this vessel, in order to convoy the schooner to John's river; and after he had landed the ammunition and presents for the Indians, to return into the harbour of Quebec to be laid up.

I am also to acquaint your lordships, that on my last coming here I met his majesty's frigate the Tryal, returning from her cruize in the bay Verte, where she had found the 8th of August last a French boat called the London of Canada, commanded by captain le Cras: upon examining her papers, they found that this vessel had been employed in introducing warlike stores, provisions and merchandizes into his majesty's province for the use of the Indians; and for these reasons the Tryal took her and brought her in here,

where she was confiscated by his majesty's court of admiralty for having carried on an illicit trade.

N U M B E R I V .

Extract of a letter from M. de la Jonquiere, governor of Canada, to M. Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia, dated at Quebec, April 2, 1750.

I Have acquainted the king, my master, with the orders I had given to the officers, to whom I gave the command of the said posts, not to suffer that any settlement should be made there by any body whatsoever ; and to oppose any such attempt, by force of arms, after giving notice to those who would saine give them any disturbance, of what I have just now mentioned to you ; however, without giving them orders as to any fortification, till such time as the commissaries, who have been already named, have settled the boundaries of Acadia with New France. These boundaries have never been settled yourselves agree ; whereas commissaries have been named for that purpose. It is on that account, that I am warranted, in sending troops to guard the said posts, till the decision of the two crowns.

I hope you will reflect seriously, on what I mention to you. Nor, do I doubt
but

but you will acquaint the king your master with whatever passes. And, whereas you tell me, that till you receive his orders, you will do your duty: I also tell you beforehand, that I shall not be wanting in doing mine.

I have been just informed, that the Sieur Goram, has taken the Abbé Gerard, rector of Copequit, prisoner. I know not the reasons, why such a step has been taken; but, as he is a subject of the king, my master, I desire you will send him, without loss of time, back to his country.

A MEMORIAL, containing complaints from England, and delivered to the Marquis de Puyfeulx the 7th of June, 1750, by my lord Albemarle,

THE underwritten ambassador, extraordinary and plenipotentiary, from his majesty, the king of Great-Britain, has received orders from the king his master, dated Hanover, the 26th of last month, to represent to the court of France, how much he is surpris'd at hearing the violent proceedings of the French in America, under the authority and direction of M. de la Jonquiere, who has readily avowed them.

M. Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia, informs the duke of Bedford, by a letter dated the 1st of May of this year, that the French have taken possession of all that part of Nova
Scotia

Scotia beyond the bay of Fundi, (a) from the river Chignecto to that of St. John, making the first the limits of that province.

They have reduced Beaubassin to ashes, and carried to the other side the river the inhabitants with their effects; (b) compelled them to take up arms, and formed them into companies; so that the sieur Lacorne, a French officer has at that place under his command, a body of two thousand, five hundred men, made up of regular troops, Canadians and Indians.

The sieur de Lacorne and father Loutre, a French missionary, have made use of repeated and innumerable promises and menaces, in order to persuade all the inhabitants of the province to leave the country (c).

The inhabitants declare openly their abhorrence of these proceedings; but the sieurs de Lacorne and Loutre, threaten them with a general massacre from the In-

(a) They have not taken possession of it: whereas by the confession of the English, they were possessed of it, at the time of the treaty of Utrecht. But M. de la Jonquiere has sent a detachment to prevent the English themselves, from executing the project they had formed, in order to seize it.

(b) By Beaubassin is here understood, a French habitation, settled at Chignecto, which the French were under a necessity of relinquishing. To burn one's self in the confusion, and fright occasioned by an invasion cannot be reckoned a hostile act.

(c) How can this desertion, of a country possessed by the French, be reconciled with the invasion laid to their charge.

dians, if they remain in the province. They support, and protect openly the Indians, our declared enemies. who enlist under the banners of France. They detain the king's subjects, (*d*) his officers and foldiers, prisoners. They excite the king's French subjects to a rebellion ; and those who remain loyal, they threaten with destruction. They send their Indian slaves all over the country, where they are guilty of all sorts of outrages.

They have set fire to the towns acknowledged by themselves, to appertain to his majesty.

Governor Cornwallis sent the sieur Laurence, major of foot, with a detachment to Chignecto ; where he arrived the 20th of last April. They saw the French set fire (*e*) to the town of Chignecto, French colours planted on the ditches ; and, the sieur de la Corne at the head of his detachment, braving major Laurence ; and declaring, that he would defend to the last, that ground as belonging to France.

The sieur de Lacorne, having sent to desire a conference (*f*) with the sieur Lawrence,

(*d*) The ambassador should have named some, but he could not.

(*e*) There was no town in the Isthmus ; and the only fire was, that of some cabin's built at Chignecto, and which the Indians had set fire to, when they were obliged to fly together with the French, who were attacked by M. Cornwallis.

(*f*) If it was the sieur de Lacorne that demanded the
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the latter, accompanied by two captains of foot, went to meet him, and demanded by whose orders he had thus come into his majesty's territories and committed such acts of violence. The sieur de la Lacorne answered; it was by those of M. de la Jonquiere, who had also commanded him to take possession of Chippodi, John's river, Man-rem, Cooke, Pitcodiack, and of all that country, as far as the river, which was on the right hand of major Laurence, as belonging to his most christian majesty; or at least, that he was to keep and defend it as such, (g) till such time as the limits were settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose.

Though the sieur Laurence had under his command a detachment of regular troops, very little inferior to that commanded by the sieur Lacorne, he forebore committing any hostilities in obedience to the king's orders for that purpose. (h)

conference, it must be concluded, he did not come to attack. The sieur Cornwallis was there before him. What was he come there for? Whereas, till then at least, the country had been possessed by the French.

(g) That is the plain truth, to keep, and defend is not invading.

(h) Why did not these orders prevent his advancing so far? He acknowledges the sieur de Lacorne's detachment, to have been superior to his own; might not this detachment have been the cause of so much moderation? The marquis de la Jonquiere had then acted right, in sending troops to oppose the invasion.

The

The king cannot persuade himself, that these acts of violence, have been committed with the knowledge of the court of France, and he is so fully convinced of his most christian majesty's equity, and his desire to maintain a good understanding between the two crowns, that he assures himself the most christian king will readily shew his disapprobation of such conduct.

Governor Cornwallis has never made, nor designed to make any settlement *out of the limits of the peninsula* (i) which the French before, never pretended to belong to them: the king having had no intention, in forming a settlement in his province of Nova Scotia, to *encroach on the rights of his most christian majesty, or to take forcible possession of a country, of which the king had referred the right of propriety to the decision of the commissaries appointed for that purpose; before it was possible for them to have met in order to proceed to the settling of the limits.*

The underwritten ambassador has ordres to demand that the conduct of M. de la Jonquiere be disavowed: that positive orders be sent him immediately to withdraw his troops and the Indians under his authority from the places which belong to Great Britain; that

(i) This is positive, and by the confession of the English, they could at least, make no innovation on the continent, before the decision of the commissaries. Have they waited for this decision?

M

amends

amends be made for the acts of violence which have been committed, and the damage which the king's subjects have suffered : and his majesty is persuaded, that the court of France will make no difficulty, to give the underwritten ambassador the duplicate of the orders, which will be sent to the governor of Canada, that he may transmit them to his court. Done at Compeigne the 7th of July 1750.

Signed ALBEMARLE.

The Marquis de Puyfieux's letter to my Lord Albemarle, by way of preliminary answer to the complaints abovementioned, till his majesty had received from Canada the particulars of the facts which had given occasion to them.

Compiegne, June 23, 1756.

SIR,

IN the memorial which your excellency, has given me concerning the complaints of M. Cornwallis, governor of Acadia, are contained many facts: so contrary to the equity of his majesty, and the instructions of M. de la Jonquiere, that if they are found to be such as they are represented, the king will take care, justice shall be done to his Britannick majesty's subjects, and will give such fresh orders, as will prevent the rise of any dispute
of

of what kind soever, between the two nations ; his majesty being thoroughly persuaded his Britannick majesty will give, on his side, orders to the same purpose.

Give me leave, Sir, to tell you I cannot be prevailed upon to believe but that the facts are exposed with too much exaggeration, and from my knowledge of M. de la Jonquiere's prudence, and the instructions which he has, I am sorry M. Cornwallis has not applied to him for redress, before he had made complaints to his court. I sent your memorial as soon as I received it to M. Rouillé, and desired he would take the proper steps, to be informed in a speedy and precise manner, of what has passed at Canada, so as I may be enabled to give your excellency a more positive answer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed PUYSEULX.

P. S. Might not M. Cornwallis have attempted to form settlements on the places that are in dispute, or even on the king's territories ?

A letter wrote by M. Rouillé to M. de la Jonquiere, a copy of which was given to my Lord Albemarle the 15th of July 1750.

Sir,

Versailles, July 11, 1750.

I Send you here inclosed, the copy of a memorial which was delivered by the Ambassador of Great Britain, to the Marquis de

M 2

Puyseulx.

Puyfieux. You will there see the complaints which the British court has exhibited concerning what has passed on the frontiers of Acadia and Canada. If any French have been guilty of the outrages mentioned in these complaints, they would deserve punishment, and the king would make an example of them. 'Tis therefore his majesty's desire, that you search into the truth of what has passed on this occasion, with all possible exactness, and, that by the first opportunity you enable me to give him a particular account of the whole.

I am likewise, by the king's command, to remind you at the same time, of the orders which his majesty has already given you several times, concerning the conduct which you are to observe with respect to the English; especially in whatever relates to the boundaries of the respective colonies, till they have been finally settled. At the same time, that you maintain his just rights against all attempts made to subvert them, you are not to attempt yourself any thing that might be contrary to the rights of the English; you are to shew them all the regard, that is compatible with the honour of the nation, and the preservation of its possessions; to take special care that the officers, whom you shall detach to the posts that are in the neighbourhood of the English colonies, conduct themselves on the same principles: and in short, to avoid every thing that may give any

any reasonable ground of complaint against you. His Britannick majesty must have, as I told you before, ordered his governors to behave in the same manner towards you. 'Tis to be hoped that every thing will pass on both sides agreeable to the views of their majesties, towards maintaining the union between both nations. I still repeat it, his majesty recommends to you to do nothing that may disturb it. I am, &c.

Signed Rouillé.

*MEMORIAL in answer to the complaints of England, and given the 15th of Sept. to my Lord Albemarle *.*

IN the answer to the memorial given at Compeigne, by the earl of Albemarle to the marquis de Puyfeulx, concerning the complaints exhibited by M. Cornwallis, governor of Acadia; notice has been taken of two things very material.

1. That with respect to the violent proceedings laid to the charge of the French officers by this governor, and to rely entirely on his exposition alone, was not equitable: that his majesty would cause an account to be given him of what had passed, and, if the facts complained of, should prove true, his majesty

* An exact account was received at that time of what had passed in America.

would

would not hesitate to have a due reparation made.

2. With regard to the principal object, relative to the limits, that his majesty was going to renew the most positive orders to the marquis de la Jonquiere, that the French, of his government, do behave in every respect, in the manner that is most agreeable to the good understanding subsisting between the two nations, and the intentions of his majesty, towards establishing it on a solid foundation: in hopes, that his Britannic majesty would be pleased to give reciprocal orders to the governors of his colonies, that they would conduct themselves on the same principles.

It was not possible as yet, to receive the verification which his majesty has commanded to be made. But such letters are received from the Marquis de la Jonquiere, and M. des Herbiers, who commands at l'Isle Royal, as will enable the British ministers to be themselves judges, how far the observations, just now mentioned, have been grounded.

So early as the month of March, M. Cornwallis made preparations for a considerable armament, and he even sent for that purpose to Boston, to desire a reinforcement of part of the militia of that colony.

Towards the month of April, he shipped on board several transports, under the convoy of the Albany of eighteen guns, some
troops

troops with some field pieces, commanded by major Lawrence, in order to attack the chevalier de Lacorne, a captain in the troops of Canada, in the posts which he held on the continent, to make themselves masters of the posts, and compel the French inhabitants, and Indians, to submit to the conditions, which he would think proper to impose on them.

The apparatus of this armament, and the menaces, which had preceded on the part of governor Cornwallis, who made no secret of his project, had provoked the resentment of the savages, and alarmed the very inhabitants of some parts of Acadia, who were already frightened at the innovations and proposals of this governor; to that pitch, that the vessels having come to an anchor in a haven of the French bay, called Le Grand Marmgowin, and one of them having separated from the rest and advanced towards Beaubassin, the inhabitants of this place resolved on abandoning the place, and the savages immediately set fire to it. This affair happened the 2d of May.

The same day major Lawrence landed the English troops at the point of Beausejour on the continent: the captain of the coast went to speak to them with a white flag; represented to them how these lands belonged to France, and that he had orders not to suffer them to remain there.

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The English then desired to speak with the French commandant: the chevalier de Lacorne, who, having had an account of their march, was come to this place, desired, of himself, to have a conference with the English commander. After some parleys among the subaltern officers, major Lawrence agreed to the conference, and the chevalier de Lacorne went half way to meet him.

The English commander expressed to the chevalier de Lacorne, his surprise at the fire of Beaubassin, and at finding the French on English territories: and that he had orders from general Cornwallis to desire he would evacuate the place, and that it was acting in a manner contrary to the law of nations and good faith, to come on these grounds and to persuade the Indians to make war on the English.

The French commandant's answer to major Lawrence was, that he ought not to be surprised at finding him in the posts which he held, inasmuch as M. de la Jonquiere had acquainted M. Cornwallis with it; that it was without any foundation he laid the motions of the Acadians to his charge, in which he had no more share than in the fire of Beaubassin, of which the savages only were the authors. As for the rest, he had orders to suffer no descent to be made on this coast which belonged to France, and to repel force by force.

Upon

Upon this the two commanders parted, and major Lawrence immediately made a signal to his troop to reembark, which was executed.

Such are the exact particulars of what passed in this adventure, on the occasion of which M. Cornwallis thought proper to be the first to make complaints. They agree with what he has himself said concerning the march of his troops: but it results therefrom, that the French have not entered the peninsula of Acadia as it had been advanced; that they have had no share in the excesses committed by the Savages, or in the motions of the Acadians; that M. Cornwallis ought to ascribe them solely to the conduct which he observed towards both people, and that it is with great injustice he lays them to the charge of the French.

What is here advanced in relation to the conduct of that governor, they are not ignorant of in London; the relation of it having been made public there.

The dispositions and object of M. Cornwallis's armament were inserted in the Gazette of Boston in New England, where it was considered as an act of hostility on his part.

Letters from Hallifax, containing not only a detail of all the preparations made for this expedition, but also the circumstances of an adventure which had preceded in the interior part

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of the peninsula between some of the English troops and some of the Savages, appeared in print in London the 26th of last August.

These very letters are an evidence of general Cornwallis's acting as in an open and declared war against the Savages, against the inhabitants of his government, and even against the French, who are the king's subjects.

'Tis moreover known it was a general report in that country, that the same governor was to form more enterprizes. And from a letter which he wrote the marquis de la Jonquiere the 5th of May, O. S. of which a copy is here annexed, 'tis plain his dispositions were far from being peaceable.

The king is entitled to expect from the justice of his Britannick majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions that M. Cornwallis do behave himself with more moderation, and in a manner that is agreeable to the intention of the two crowns, so as peace may be maintained, and that he will not suffer him to indulge himself in acts of violence so contrary to the stipulations of the treaties of Utrecht, of Aix la Chapelle, and to the spirit of the commission established at Paris.

The king reiterates his assurances in this place, that if his officers were guilty of enterprizes of this nature, so long as they shall not be compelled to it in order to repel force by force, his majesty would not hesitate a moment to punish them

them in an exemplary manner. He has caused his intentions on this head, to be both explained and renewed to them, in such a manner that they will be certainly obeyed : It may be also depended on, that in their intercourse with the officers of his Britannic majesty, they will never fall into such declamations as would not be allowable, even in the bloodiest war.

It is left to his Britannic majesty, to judge of the style of M. Cornwallis's letter to M. de la Jonquiere, Dated HALIFAX, May 5, (O. S.)

We shall conclude with observing that M. de la Jonquiere, on reception of the king's orders, which were exchanged last year with those of the king of Great-Britain, for the exchange of prisoners, has immediately caused all those who were in his power, to be put into the hands of an English officer, belonging to the government of New-York, and given the most peremptory orders throughout all his government to make the ransom of the prisoners, who were among the savages, as easy as possible to the English. In order to these operations, he has not even waited to have the sureties which he would have been entitled to require of the English governors. And from thence, the British ministry may form a judgment of the French

governor's private dispositions, and of the orders which have been given him in every thing relating to the union of both nations.

'Twas hoped, the English governors would have acted with the same good Faith, and the same exactness, in sending back the French prisoners ; and, it is not doubted, but the court of England, will at all events, think proper to give fresh orders, relative thereto, to prevent all complaints on this subject hereafter.

N U M B E R V.

*Extract of the interrogatories of the four English traders, taken upon the territories of France *.*

IN the year 1751, and the 19th of the month of June, before Noon, in the presence of us, the Marquis de la Jonquiere commander of the Royal and Military order of St. Lewis, Chef d'Escadre of the naval forces, governor and lieutenant general for the king, of all New-France, Isle Royal, and its appendages, lands, and countries of Louisiana ; being present, the baron de Longueil, governor of the city and government of Montreal, and M. Varin, commissary of the

* These interrogatories prove that the governor of Philadelphia used to give to the English traders, missions to traffick on the French territories, and that he had an emissary who was charged to make presents to the savages of these territories, in order to excite them to a war.

marine,

marine, and head-magistrate of the same city; in our cabinet at the castle of Vandreuil, where we live, in the said city of Montreal.

We have caused to be brought before us, four Englishmen, &c.—— Being assisted by Daniel Joseph Maddox an English interpreter, duly sworn, maintained by the king, in order to serve us in the said capacity, whom we have sent for, in order to interpret the interrogatories; which we are going to make to the said English, and their Answers. To which we have proceeded severally, in the following manner.

1. Came before us an Englishman, to whom we gave to understand by the means of the said Maddox, that we required his oath to say the truth, which he took immediately, laying his hand on his breast, according to the laws and usages of Great-Britain, by which he promised, and swore he would speak the truth.

Called upon to declare his name, surname, age, profession, town of his birth, of his residence; and, on what government it depends.

Answered, That his name was Luke Irwin, 28 years of age, that he is a travelling merchant, a native of Ireland, an inhabitant of Philadelphia, government of Pennsylvania.

1. Being asked how long he has been away from Pennsylvania, where he went when he set out from thence, and where he proposed to have gone to?

Answered,

Answered, That he does not precisely remember the day of his departure, but that it was in the month of August, of the last year; that he went first to the village of the Chavanous on the fair river.

2. Being asked in whose company he was when he left Pensylvania, and what was his design, &c.

Answered, That he was in company with two English merchants, and six indented servitors of the same nation, in order to carry the goods, which they were supplied with, to the savage nations; and, that their design was, to get rid of them immediately, in order to make their whole returns in furs——That he had a printed licence from James Hambleton, governor of Philadelphia; to trade generally every-where among the friendly Indians for which he had paid fifty shillings to the said governor, &c.

3. Being asked, whether it be not true, that he dealt his said goods to the savage nations, who have taken refuge on the Fair river, la Roche river, and in the neighbourhood? Whether he has given them at a low price, persuaded them they were finer, and much cheaper than those of the French? And how long he has carried on this traffick with these nations.

Answered, That he dealt his goods to the savage nations on the Fair river, la Roche river and every where else he met with Indians

dians. That he has let them have his commodities very cheap in exchange for their furs ; that he has not depreciated the French goods, but that the savages themselves make a great difference between them.

4. Asked, Whether it be not true, that the foregoing years and this, he has carried, by order of the governor of Philadelphia, and at the expence of the province, messages, strings of wampum, English flags and hatchets to the said savage nations, together with considerable presents, and a quantity of rum, in order to induce them to acknowledge none but the English, to inspire them with sentiments of hatred towards the French, and influence them to their destruction : promising them for that purpose, a sum of money for each French scalp : If it be not likewise true, that he spoke the Chevanon language, Chavaguaronne, or the language of the Iroquois, another language of the nations on the White river, and several others : and if in consideration of this, the said governor has not sent him to the Fair river, la Roche river, and other places ; in order to execute his schemes.

Answered, That he has carried to the savage nations, some *wampum*, *hatchets*, and rum to entertain them with. But, that he has not carried them from the governor, either messages, strings of wampum, hatchets, or presents, or rum. That this governor, in order

order to carry his messages to the nations, makes use of the *sieur* George Crocquen, merchant, who is his grand interpreter; who has always with him a Frenchman, called Andrew Montour, by origin a Canadian, as he heard it said; who attends him in his progress, among all the savages, whose languages he speaks to perfection; that he is ignorant as to the said Crocquen's being now among the Indians; but *he knows, that he was not to delay setting out after himself, by order of the governor, to carry a message to the Micmacs, and all the other nations:* That his being deputed, was owing to * the Micmacs having been last year, with the said Crocquen at Veskak, where he has a house, with sixteen other merchants, in order to desire that he would receive them. And that the said Montour was going to assure these nations, on behalf of the said governor, that they should meet with a good reception from the English. That he could not say whether the orders of this governor were to influence these nations to the destruction of the French, because when he came away, the Micmacs were not then arrived at Philadelphia; and that nothing had transpired: that he talks Chavanon, Chavagaronne, and several other Indian languages, but that he has not been chosen to be the bearer of the governor's message.

5. Asked, &c.

* The deposition of the fourth witness, proves the falsity of this excuse.

6. Asked if it is not true, that he was on the Fair river with a number of English traders, during the campaign made by M. de Celoron, now major and commandant of the Streight, in the year 1749; by the order of the marquis de la Galiffioniere, commander in chief of all New France, and its dependencies; that they were summoned to withdraw from the territories of the king our master: that they were forbidden to return there; and that the said sieur de Celoron wrote a letter to the governor of Philadelphia, to acquaint him what he had done; and to warn him, that if English traders should re-appear on the king's territories, he would not be answerable to him for the consequences.

Answered, that he heard mention made of the campaign of M. Celoron on the Fair River, the prohibitions which he made to the English traders, and the letter he wrote to the governor of Philadelphia. But that he did not think himself obliged to conform to these prohibitions, and that he conformed himself to the terms of the permission which was given him by his governor.

Lecture was made to the said Luke Irwin of the present interrogatories, &c.

Came before us an Englishman, whom we caused to be informed by the said Maddox, that we required his oath to speak the truth, which he immediately took, his hand being

on his breast according to the laws and usages of Great Britain, by which he promised and swore he would speak the truth.

Called upon to tell us his name, surname, age, profession, the town he was born in, that of his residence, and to what government, it belonged.

Answered, his name to be Joseph Fortiner, his age 26, that he was a hired servant, a traveller, born in and an inhabitant of the town of Gergé, belonging to the government of New York.

Interrogated on the first interrogatory, which was read to him word for word.

Answered, that he has been absent from Gerge these four years past; that he has kept the most part of the time in the woods: that in the winter he used to retire to the village of Scaniris belonging to the government of Philadelphia; that he has been with the Cheva-nons of the Fair River, and wherever he could carry on a trade with the Indian natives.

Interrogated on the second interrogatory which was read to him word for word.

Answered, that he came out with Michael Teste with an intent to trade with the savages; that he hired himself to the said Teste, in order to help him to carry down his goods with his horses. That he and the other Englishmen who have been taken, burnt their bills of parcels; that he cannot therefore tell us to what value his amounted in goods; that he had them from
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the same man that supplied Luke Irwin ; that he *had a licence from the governor of Philadelphia*, which he left in his cabin in the villages belonging to the nations, called in English *Vendack*, situated near the Chevanons.

Being interrogated on the third interrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Answered, that he dealt his merchandizes to the nations who have taken refuge on the Fair River, and in the neighbourhood ; that he never offered to depreciate the French goods in the presence of the savages, but that they said they preferred dealing with the English, because their goods were more beautiful and cheaper than those of the French ; that he has been but four years, as he told us, carrying on a trade with these nations.

Being examined on the eighth interrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Answered, that in 1749 he was at the village of *Seskina* belonging to the government of Philadelphia, where he heard mention made of M. de Celoron's campaign on the Fair River, and that he has no knowledge of what relates further to the said interrogatory.

Lecture being made to the said Joseph Fortiner of the present interrogatories and his answers, &c.

Came before us an Englishman, to whom we gave to understand, by means of the said Maddox, that we required his oath to speak the truth, which oath he took, &c.

Called

Called upon to tell his name, &c.

Answered, that his name is Thomas Bourke, his age 23, that he is a traveller, a native of Cork in Ireland, and an inhabitant of the village of Leinguester near Philadelphia.

Interrogated on the first interrogatory, which was read to him word for word.

Answered, that it is almost eight years since he came out of Ireland, that he has been away from his village only these ten months past; that he was hired to John Martin, an English trader on the Fair River, that he set out with two more servitors to go and trade, at three leagues from Otsendosket, and that from thence he had proposed to return home to Leinguester.

Examined on the second interrogatory.

Answered, that his company consisted only of the two Englishmen, of whom he has just made mention; that the goods he had, including the horses, might have been computed worth 1500 livres; that he had left the whole at a small river, about two leagues from where the Father de la Richardie has wintered in the keeping of two Englishmen who ran away, leaving all behind them the moment they were informed of their arrest: that these goods belonged to the said Martin, who had bought them of two different merchants at Philadelphia, the name of one of whom is Chippé, *that he had a permission from the governor of*
Phila-

Philadelphia, and that he has left it at the abovementioned river, with the goods.

Examined on the eighth interrogatory, &c.

Answered, that he has had knowledge of M. de Celoron's campaign on the Fair River, and the letter which he wrote the governor of Philadelphia; that it was given to the servitors of George Crocquen first interpreter, but that he knows not whether it has been delivered.

Lecture being made to the said Thomas Bourke of the present interrogatories, with his answers, &c.

Came before us an Englishman, who after having made oath, &c.

Called upon to tell us his name, surname, age, &c.

Answered, that his name is George Pathon, that he is 20 years of age, a merchant trading with the Indians, a native and inhabitant of Wellensthon, in the government of Philadelphia.

Interrogated on the first interrogatory which was read to him word for word.

Answered, that he set out from Willensthon the 24th of August of last year, English style, that he went to the Micmacs on La Roche river, thirty leagues from the fort of the Micmacs, as he thinks, with an intent to trade with these savages.

Examined on the second interrogatory which was read him word for word.

Answered, That he had two servants with him, and was in the company of an English merchant,

merchant, who had five. That they all came together to the river of la Roche, where they met with fifty English merchants or servitors, lodged in the cabins of the Micmacs, the chief of which is called the *Damsel*; that these cabins are in a fort; that he had to the amount of seven thousand livres worth of goods, and that he came out provided with a permission from the governor of Philadelphia * for which he was made to pay a pistole. This permission he left behind him in his box in his cabin at the said Micmacs.

Interrogated on the third tinterrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Answered, that he dealt out his goods to the Indians, who have taken refuge on the Fair river, la Roche river, and the parts adjacent. That it was the first time of his going to la Roche river; that he carried on his trade, exhibiting his merchandize, and agreeing about the price with the savages, without any intent to depreciate the French goods.

* With regard to these permission, it is necessary to remind our readers, that they are so many infringements of the laws of trade founded on the treaties. The savages having no territory, may freely trade in all the countries, English as well as French, as to the European nations, none can trade with the savages, but on its own territory. These letters of the English governor's, given to traders, authorising them to trade in the countries which France is in possession of, are therefore, so many encroachments; these English traders carried on a sheer counterband trade, by the permission of their governor.

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Interrogated on the fourth interrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Answered, that he has only heard it said, 'That the governor of Philadelphia had given into the hands of George Crocquen, great interpreter, merchandizes to the value of about a thousand pistoles for the savages.' That he ranges the woods in company with the said Mantour, a French Canadian, in order to dispose of them to the refugee nations of the Fair river and that of la Roche, and in particular to the Micmacs; and that he can say nothing further as to the other facts contained in the said interrogatory: denies his understanding any savage language.

Asked, if it be not true that he has been arrested in the fort of the Micmacs by order of M. de Villiers, who commands at the said fort; and that he went thither with an intent to dispose of his merchandize.

Answered, that he went to the fort of the Micmacs, upon the savages telling him the French would be glad to see him; that he was surpris'd at being arrested in the said fort; that he wanted to purchase there a gun and some tobacco, and that he, on that account had brought with him five silk caps, a piece of common holland, and twelve silk handkerchiefs; and that the whole was seized by the sieur de Villiers, as also his horse; that his boots and portmanteau, where his cloaths were, was left in an Indian cabin, from whence

whence they were to have been sent to him, to the Detroit ; but, that since he has had no account of them : he further says, that another horse of his, mounted by a savage, who served him by way of guide; was also seized.

Asked, if it be not true, that when he determined to go to the French fort of the Micmacs, he made presents : or, that presents were made by some body, to the Refugee nations of the Fair river, or river la Roche ; in order to extract a promise from them, that if he was attacked, or stopped, they would take vengeance for it.

Answered, and denied the said interrogatory, in all its contents.

Interrogated if it be not true, that the goods, which were seized at la Croix, within twenty leagues of the fort of the Micmacs, belonged to him ; and that they are the same that are mentioned in the verbal process of the sieur Montigny, an officer, dated the 2d of December, 1750, of which we caused lecture to be made to him.

Answered, that he left his goods at la Croix, that he acknowledges those mentioned in the verbal process to be of the same sort with his, but in a much less quantity ; that for the rest, he does not know whether his servitors have carried off the rest, when they ran away, or what is become of them.

Interrogated on the eighth interrogatory which was read to him word for word.

Answered,

Answered, that he was not at the Fair river in 1749, but that he heard mention made of M. Celoron's campaign on that river in the same year; and the prohibitions he made to the English traders. That he also heard, the said Celoron wrote to the governor of Philadelphia on that occasion; but that he heard at the same time that this letter was not delivered to him; that the aforementioned Crocquen interpreter-general tore it, in order to conceal the knowledge of it from him, and to prevent his making any inhibitions in consequence thereof.

Lecture being made to John Patton of the present interrogatories and his answers, and being called upon to declare if he will alter, retrench from, or add to his answers; says they contain the truth, that he adheres to them; but notwithstanding adds that the said interpreter-general Crocquen, has at all times endeavoured to influence the Indians to the destruction of the French; and that at last by the dint of presents he succeeded in procuring the massacre of five of them in the upper countries; that all these steps were interested and taken with a view to engross the whole trade, and that the French might be deterred from trading with the Indians. That with regard to the letters which M. de Celeron wrote to the governor of Philadelphia, three of them were intercepted by the said Crocquen: lest if he came to the knowledge of all his proceedings

P

ceedings * he should not suffer him to go among the Savages, and has signed with us at every page. As also M. the baron de Longueil, M. Varin, the said Maddox, interpreter, and our secretary. Thus have signed John Patton D. J. Maddox, la Jonquiere, Longueil, Varin, and St Saveur, secretary.

N U M B E R VI.

Warning sent by the order of M. de Contrecoeur captain of one of the Independent companies of the Marine detachment; commander in chief of his majesty's troops on the fair River, to the commandant of those of the King of Great Britain, and carried by M. le Mercier, April 16, 1754.

SIR,

Nothing can equal the surprise I am in at your attempting a Settlement on the territories of the king my master; and this is what induces me to depute to you, the chevalier le Mercier captain of canonniers, bombardiers, commandant of the artillery of Canada; that I may be informed by yourself Sir, by virtue of what order you are come to fortify yourself on the dominions of the king my master. This procedure ap-

* This has been added, in order to justify the governor, it has been seen higher that this gentleman had given to the value of a thousand pistoles of merchandise to Crocquen, to be distributed among the Savages.

pears

appears to me to be so contrary to the treaty of peace concluded at Aix-la-chapelle, between his most Christian majesty and the king of Great Britain; that I am at a loss to whose charge I am to lay such an usurpation, as the lands situated along the Fair river belong incontestibly to the most Christian king.

Sir, I have been assured, that your encroachment has been concerted only by a company which had more the interests of its trade in view, than the preservation of the union and harmony that subsist between the two crowns, of France and Great Britain: although the preservation of it be of as much importance, to your nation as it is to ours.

Sir, Be that as it may, if you are come here provided with orders, I give you this warning, in the name of the king my master, by virtue of the orders which I have from my general for that purpose; to withdraw peaceably with your troops from the king's territories; and not to return; otherwise my duty will oblige me to compel you thereto. I hope sir, you will not defer an instant to comply with this, (and that you will not lay me under the necessity of coming to the last extremities;) in which case sir, you may be assured I will give orders that no harm shall be done you by my detachment.

I am to tell you beforehand sir, that it will be in vain to request an hour's delay, or that I will consent to your waiting for the

orders of your governor ; he has none to give on the dominions of the king my master. Those which I have received from my general are the rule I must conduct myself by ; and which I must not deviate from.

If on the contrary it should so happen that you have no orders, and that you are come only to trade : I am sorry I must tell you, that I shall be under a necessity of seizing you, and confiscating your goods to the profit of the Savages, our children, allies and friends, as you have no right to carry on any contraband trade.

This was the reason sir, why we arrested last year two Englishmen who traded on our territories. As for the rest, my master insists only on what is his right ; his intention is, in no ways to disturb the good harmony and the friendship, which subsist between his majesty and the king of Great Britain.

The general of Canada can give proofs of his concurrence, in the preservation of the perfect union which subsists between these two friendly princes ; inasmuch as being informed, that some Iroquois and Nepissingues of the lake of the two mountains, had struck and destroyed an English family towards Carolina : he caused the passage to be stopped, and compelled them to surrender him a little boy of this family, who was the only living one of it ; and M. Ulrick, who was then charged

charged with a negotiation at Montreal, brought him with him back to Boston.

He has moreover, forbidden the Savages to practice their usual barbarities on the English with whom we are in friendship.

Sir, I might make use of bitter complaints, against the instigations employed all last winter to prevail on the Savages to take up the hatchet and strike us, while we make it our study to preserve peace,

I am well aware sir, of the polite manner with which you will receive M. le Mercier, as well on account of his errand as his distinction and personal merit. I expect you will send him back to me with one of your officers, who is to bring me a precise answer, signed by yourself.

As you have some Savages with you sir, I have sent along with M. le Mercier, an interpreter, that they may be made acquainted with my intentions in regard to them.

I am, &c.

Done in the camp, Signed
April 16, 1754.

CONTRECOEUR,

NUMB.

N U M B E R VII.

A Copy of the orders given to M. de Jumonville by M. Contrecoeur, May 23, 1754.

WE, captain of the company of a detachment of the marine, commander in chief of the party on the Fair river; the forts of du Quesne, presque Isle, and the river Beeves.

The sieur de Jumonville, ensign in the troops, is hereby commanded to set out immediately with an officer, three cadets, a volunteer, an English interpreter, and twenty-eight men; and proceed to reconnoitre till he comes to the highlands. He is to follow the course of the river Mononghela in wheel-carriages till he comes to the carthouse: after this he is to march till such time as he shall find out the road, communicating with that which is said to have been made by the English.

The Savages give out that the English are marching to attack us, which we cannot give credit to, we being in peace. But if contrary to expectation it should so happen, that the sieur de Jumonville discovered any motions the English were making on the lands belonging to the king's dominions; he is to repair thither, and deliver them the message which we commit to his charge.

We

We command him in such case to dispatch to us before he delivers his warning a quick runner, to acquaint us with what he has discovered; the day he expects to deliver the message, and as soon as he has delivered it to make what haste he possibly can to bring us the answer.

If the sieur de Jumonville should hear it reported that the English are going to the other side of the mountain * he is not to proceed beyond the high grounds, it not being our intention to disturb them; and being desirous to preserve the union subsisting between the two crowns.

We recommend to the sieur de Jumonville that he will be on his guard against all surprise, as well from the Savages as the English. If he should meet with any Savages, he is to tell them he is walking out to see what passes on the king's territories, and inform himself of the different roads, and he is to give them instances of friendship.

Done at the camp at fort du
Quesne, May 23, 1754.

Signed

CONTRECOEUR.

A copy of the warning of which M. de Jumonville was bearer.

* The Apalachean Mountains.

Warning which the sieur de Jumonville, officer of his most Christian majesty's troops will give to the commandant of the English troops, if he do meet with any on the lands belonging to the king's dominion.

SIR,

I HAVE been already informed by the savages, that you were advancing openly with an armed body of forces into the king's territories. Although I could not give any credit to such a report, yet as I ought not to neglect any means whereby I may be rightly informed, I detach the sieur de Jumonville, that he may see if there be any such thing, and in case he do meet with you on the king's territories, that he may warn you in the king's name, and by virtue of the orders which I have for that purpose from my general, to retire peaceably with your troops; otherwise you will lay me, sir, under the necessity of compelling you thereto, and using all the means for that purpose, which shall appear most effectual, and consistent with the honour of the king's arms. The sale of the lands of the Fair river gives you so sorry a title that I shall be obliged, sir, to repell force by force.

I must tell you beforehand, that if after this warning which is the last I shall give you,

you, any act of hostility shall ensue, you must be responsible for it: It being our intention to preserve the union which subsists between two princes in friendship. Whatever be your designs, sir, I flatter myself you will give M. de Jumonville all the instances of regard which this officer deserves, and that you will send him back to me immediately that I may be informed of your intentions. I am, &c.

At the camp of
fort du Quesne,
May 23, 1754.

Signed *Contrecoeur*.

*A letter wrote by M. de Contrecoeur the 2d of
June 1754, to the Marquis du Quesne.*

SIR,

SINCE the letter which I had the honour to write you the 30th of last May, wherein I told you that I expected M. de Jumonville within four days: I have been just informed that this party has been taken and cut off to the number of eight men, of whom, according to the report of the Indians, M. de Jumonville is one. One Monceau, a Canadian, who has made his escape, says, that in order to shelter themselves from the heavy rains, they built themselves cabins, where they lay the whole night. The next morning, about seven o'clock, they saw themselves surrounded by some English on one side, and

Q

savages

savages on the other: they received from the English two discharges, from the savages none. M. de Jumonville desired, by the help of an interpreter, that they would give over firing, as he had something to say to them. They gave over; upon which M. de Jumonville caused the warning to be read to them, which I caused to be drawn up in order that they might withdraw, and of which I have the honour to send you a copy. While it was reading, the said Monceau saw all our people coming close to M. Jumonville, so as to form a platoon between the English and the savages. Monceau took this opportunity to get off, and to make the best of his way through the woods, and thus arrived partly by land and the rest in a little canoe on Mononghela river.

This is, sir, all I could learn from *Monceau*. The misfortune is, that our people have been surpris'd the English had discovered them, and were upon them before our people had seen them.

I receive this instant, sir, a letter from M. de la Chavegnerie, which I have the honour to send you, you will see by it, that we have certainly lost eight men, of whom M. de Jumonville is one. The savages, who were present at this action, say that he was killed while he listened to the reading of the *warning*. He was shot in the head; after which they proceeded to strike: intending to destroy all our people. The savages, who were present, threw

threw themselves between, and stopped the English; otherwise they had all been cut off. Mess. Drouillon and la Force, are made prisoners. We are not yet informed whether Mess. de Boucherville and du Sable, both cadets, are of the number of the eight who have been slain. This is the account which we had from the savages.

I believe, sir, you will be surprised at the base proceedings of the English, to lay violent hands on ambassadors to assassinate them, is what has been never known among the least civilized nations. The nations are so much provoked at it, that they have desired my leave to strike the English. My great comerade is a *Goyogwin* chief, whom *I* sent to hold a council in his village upon the blow which has been given us.

There is no doubt but the English are in march with an army of five thousand men according to the report of the savages, who also assure, that their vanguard is always composed of six hundred men, and that they are making a great road for the easier transporting of their heavy cannon. As *I* have certain advice of the English being on their march, *I* write word to M. Pean, to use all possible speed in bringing up the provisions; and in the mean time to send us three hundred men, either by land or water. *I* also write to M. de Carqueville, in case M. Pean be not at Tiadokouin,

to come with the same number of men that I desire of M. Pean.

Had I omitted procuring this intelligence, which unfortunately cost our people their liberty and lives, the English would have made their approaches without being discovered; whereas now we caution ourselves against any thing that may happen. We are told the main body is still at a distance, and that they will take up at least a moon to arrive here. 'Tis likewise said that they fortify Tanariffon, towards the source of Mononghela river. This is the discourse of the savages, who also give out, that the English have ten *Chicachas*; thirty *flat-heads* of those who are nearest to their colonies, and an hundred men of the nation of *Dogs*, all enemies to the nations on this river, who are greatly exasperated at it.

'Tis said, the English design to come and build a fort, a bout half a league above us, another at a good half league below us, that is to say, at the little rock; and a third at fifteen or twenty acres from this place, along the river Mononghela, on the same side with us.

I will do myself the honour to acquaint you, with every thing that shall happen, as often as I am able, &c.

N U M B E R

NUMBER VIII.

Major Washington's Journal.

THE 31st of March I received a commission from his excellency the governor (a) dated the 15th, appointing me to be lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Virginia, of which Joshua Fry, esq; is colonel, with directions to take the troops, then quartered at Alexandria, under my command, and to lead them on to the Ohio, in order to assist captain Trent in erecting forts, and defending the possessions of his Majesty against the encroachments (b) and hostilities of the French.

2d April. Every thing being got ready agreeable to our orders, we began our march with the companies of foot commanded by captain Peter Hog, and captain lieutenant Jacob Vembraan, five subaltern officers, two serjeants, six corporals, a drummer, and an hundred and twenty soldiers; a serjeant-major, a Swedish gentleman volunteer, two waggons, guarded by a lieutenant, a serjeant, a corporal, and twenty-five men.

(a) M. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia.

(b) These encroachments, &c. consisted in defending this country against the invasion of the English, and in summoning these people to retire.

We set out from the town on Tuesday at noon, and we encamped about four miles from Cameron, after having marched six miles.

From the 3d of April till the 19th of the same month, this journal contains only the march of the troops, and the junction of a detachment brought by capt. Stephens.

The 19th we met an express, who was charged with letters from capt. Trent on the Ohio, requiring that a reinforcement might be sent him with all the expedition possible, he having had notice that a body of eight hundred French was hourly expected. I waited at Job Pearfal's for the troops, which came up the next day. On receiving the express above-mentioned, I dispatched a courier to colonel Fry, in order to give him notice thereof.

The 20th I went down to colonel Cresan's, where I disposed the detachment in a proper order; and in my way I was informed of the fort's being taken by the French. This news was confirmed, two days after, by captain Trent's ensign, M. Wart, who was obliged to surrender himself to a body of above a thousand French, under the command of captain Contrecoeur, who was come from Venango (in French the Frefq isle) with sixty battoes three hundred canoes, and eighteen pieces of artillery, which were erected into a battery facing the fort, and then summoned him to withdraw.

M. Wart

M. Wart informed me likewise, that the savages persisted on their firm attachment to our interests. He had brought with him two young men of the Mingo nation, that they might have the satisfaction to see that we were marching with troops to their assistance.

He also delivered me the following message, which was sent me by the Half King (c).
April 18, 1754, at the fort of the Ohio.

The Half-King's speech. A belt for the governor of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

BROTHERS, the English, the bearer will let you know how we have been used by the French. We expected a long while they would come and strike us; we now see how they propose to behave towards us (d); we are ready to strike them even this moment; and we wait only for your assistance. Take courage and come as *soon as 'tis possible*, and *you will find us as well disposed to strike them as you are yourselves.*

(c) This is an Indian chief, on whom the English had conferred this title of Half King, and whom they greatly animated against the French.

(d) This is a confession with a witness, of the goodness with which the French treated the rebell savages. These expected to be prosecuted : astonished at the indulgence of the French, they form a prospect of attacking them, and communicate this resolution to the English.

We

We have sent these two young men in order to see if you are ready to come ; and in that case they will return to us, and we will give notice where you are ; that we may have it in our power to join you, we could wish, if possible, that the troops of the two provinces met at the fort on the road. If you don't come to our assistance now, we are utterly undone: and I believe we shall never more be able to come together. I speak it in the deepest concern of my heart.

A string of Wampum.

The Half-King addressed this speech to me in person.

I am ready, if you think it proper to go with these two young men to the two governors ; for I can no longer rely on those who have so long been gone and are not returned, nor have sent any message.

A string.

April 23. A council was held at Will's Creek, in order to concert measures relative to the news brought by M. Wart.

Examination being made of the news brought by ensign Wart, and the summons sent by captain Contrecoeur, commander of the French troops: the messages of the half King, and the other chiefs of the six nations, being perused, it appears, that M. Wart was compelled to give up the aforesaid fort the 17th instant to the French, whose number amounted to above a thousand men, with eighteen

teen pieces of artillery^(e), some of which were nine pounders, which was the less to be wondered at, as the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to a hundred and fifty men, commanded by colonel Washington, had orders to reinforce captain Trent; and that thus the garrison of the said fort consisted but of thirty-three effective men.

It was found impracticable to march towards the fort without sufficient forces, and being very warmly pressed by the messages of the savages; and especially those of the Half king, the president proposed this as a subject of deliberation, viz. whether it was not proper to advance as far as Redstone Creek, called by the French, Creek de la roche rouge, upon Mononghela, in French, Malengueulee, about thirty seven miles from the fort on this side; and there to fortify ourselves, while our people were clearing up the roads, so as to admit the transporting our artillery and baggage: or to wait there for new orders.

It was resolved in the affirmative, for this reason: that the mouth of Redstone river is the first convenient place on Mononghela river; that the magazines designed for the company's stores are ready to receive our stores and provisions; and that occasionally, the heavy artillery may be transported by water, in case we shall

^(e) Captain Trent and ensign Wart had greatly exaggerated the French forces; which was natural enough to people who had abandoned their fort on a bare summons.

think it convenient to attack the fort. Moreover, this will guard our people against the evil consequences of inaction, and may be an encouragement to the indians our allies, to adhere to our interests. Upon this I determined on sending M. Wart to the governor (*f*) with one of the young savages, and an interpreter. I thought it also incumbent upon me to inform the governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania of this news. I sent back the other indian to the Half King, with the speech inserted in the following letter.

*To the honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq;
Governor, General, &c.*

SIR,

M Wart, ensign in captain Trent's company, is this day arrived from Mononghela, and has brought the melancholy news of the surrender of the fort the 17th instant on the summons made them by captain Contrecoeur, at the head of a body of French troops, consisting of above a thousand men: in his way from Venango, with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty battoes, and three hundred canoes: and they have given leave to all our people to retire, with all the working tools; which was done the same day.

Being thus informed of this news, I called a council of war in order to consider of the

(*f*) The governor of Virginia.

most

most proper measures to be taken in these circumstances. I send you a copy of the particulars, and the resolutions of this council, and have charged the same express with it, for your more particular information.

M. Wart is the bearer of the summons and the messages of the Half King, in which I have included the strings of *Wampum*; he is attended by one of the savages, of whom mention is made in these speeches, who has been sent to view our forces, and to know the time they might expect our coming. I sent back the other savage with speeches.

I hope you will be sensible of the absolute necessity of sending us our forces as soon as they shall be raised; with a sufficient number of canoes, of which some must be large; and some mortars for grenadoes, in order to be enabled to *attack the French* with an equal force. Perhaps it might be proper to invite the Cherokees, Calivbales, and the Chicachas, to come to our assistance. As we are informed, that the Iroquois and the Outawas are coming down Scioto Creek, in order to join the French, who are to assemble on the Ohio. In that case I beg you will cause them to be conducted here in good order, that we may be able to prevail on them to make peace with the six nations; for I am informed from several parts, that there is no good understanding amongst them, and that if they should be the first at the Ohio,
it

it might occasion a good deal of disorder, and to end our disadvantage.

We are sensible of the great advantage of a water carriage; therefore I would beg the favour of you to provide a number of canoes for that purpose.

Captain Trent's people are arrived this day. They have been enlisted, by your orders, as militia men. The officers had imprudently promised them twenty-four pence a day: they will not serve at present for less. M. Wart will receive your orders on this subject.

To his Excellency Horatio Sharp, Esq; governor of Maryland.

SIR,

I Arrived here with a detachment of an hundred and fifty men; colonel Fry, with the remaining part of the regiment and the artillery is daily expected; in the mean time we will cross the mountains by easy marches, and cut ourselves roads as we advance (g); so as to render the transporting of our cannon practicable. We propose going to the mouth of Redstone river, which falls into the Mononghela, about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort which has been taken by the French, it being navigable to the Ohio.

(g) How could the English pretend this country belonged to them? Since they had not even roads to conduct them from their colonies thither.

There

There is a magazine built at that place by the Ohio company, which hereafter may contain our stores and provisions.

Besides the French forces above-mentioned, there is reason to believe from the reports which we have received, that another party is coming to the Ohio. We have also advice, that six hundred Indians, Chippoways and Olloways are coming down the river Scioto in order to rejoin them.

This is my answer to the speeches of the half-king

To the half-king, to the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, chevanons and wolves, our friends and our brothers.

I Have received your speech by brother Bucks, who came to us with the two young men in six days after they had left you. We return you our most sincere thanks, with hearts burning with affection for you, for your constant attachment, your gracious speech, and your wise counsels.

This young man will acquaint you with the place where he has met a small part of our army drawing towards your forts; being employed in clearing up the roads for a great number of our warriors, who are ready to follow us with our heavy artillery, our ammunition and provisions.

I cannot

I cannot postpone making our hearts known to you. I therefore send the young man with this speech in order to acquaint you therewith, having sent the other to the governor of Virginia with your speech, and and your belt; that he may be an eye-witness of the preparations which we are making, in order to come speedily to the assistance of those, whose interests are as dear to us as our lives. We acknowledge the character of the *treacherous French*; and our conduct will evidently shew how much we ave that at heart.

I shall not be satisfied unless I see you, before all our forces are assembled at the fort which is on the way. 'Tis for this reason that I earnestly wish that you, belt and string of Wampum, or at least one of you would meet us on the road, as soon as possible, to assist us in counsel. I present you these strings to enforce my speech, that you may call to mind how much I am your brother and friend.

Signed Washington
or, Conotocarious. †

April 28. Received some artillery which were sent up to the mouth of Paterson's river.

† This probably is an Indian name assumed by M. Washington to render himself agreeable to the nations whom he would fain seduce.

From

From April 29, till May 11, this Journal contains nothing but marches, and other matters not very interesting.

THE 11th of May; made a detachment of a party of twenty-five men under the command of captain Stephens, and ensign la Peyronie. They were directed to go to Mr. Gifts and make exact enquiries where la Force † and his party lay; and in case he was in the neighbourhood they were to go no farther, but to secure themselves. I ordered them likewise to search carefully the surrounding woods, and to endeavour to nab some straggling Frenchman and to bring him, that we may get some intelligence; also to endeavour to find out whether 'tis possible to go down the river; and to look out for some convenient place about the mouth of Redstone river to build a fort on; to pay a visit to the half-king; and to send him here with a small escort. They were likewise to get what information they could, relative to the French and their schemes: what they had been doing, and what they

† M. de la Force, is one of those French who attended M. de Jumonville. He had been about the beginning of May, detached with three other French, and some Indians, in pursuit of some deserters: and M. Washington had been informed of this by means of the savages,

further

further designed to do; † in short, to gather whatever might tend to give us any information.

12. We struck our tents and ascended an eminence, where we halted in order to dry ourselves; having been obliged to cross a rapid river, where the smallest of our men had water up to their arm-pits.

An express arrived with letters acquainting us, that colonel Fry was with a detachment of upwards of an hundred men at Winchester, and that in a few days he would set out in order to rejoin us; likewise that colonel Jnnis was on his march with three hundred and fifty men, raised in Carolina: That it was expected Maryland would raise ten thousand pounds (equal to fifty thousand and five hundred livres) to pay the soldiers of the other colonies; by way of amends for its furnishing no men; and that governor Shirley had sent six hundred men to harraßs the French in Canada. *

I hope this will give them some employment; and will damp that spirit with which they send parties to the river Ohio.

16. We met two traders who told us they had retired through fear of the French, of whom parties were often seen towards M. Gifts habitation. These traders are of opi-

† If the English were ignorant of the designs of the French; it follows, that the orders which M. Washington had to attack them, were not occasioned by any hostilities they had committed.

* Behold the English, always attacking.

nion

nion, with many others, that it is not possible to open a road for loaded carriages, from here to Redstone river.

17. This evening arrived M. Wart with the young Indian from Williamsbourg; he delivers a letter, in which the governor is kind enough to approve of my measures; and expresses his dissatisfaction of captain Trent, whom he has ordered to be tried for having, without orders, deserted his men on the Ohio. At the same time the governor informed me that captain Roy, with an independent company of a hundred men, exclusive of the officers, was arrived; that we might expect them immediately, and that those of New-york would join us in less than ten days.

This evening likewise, arrived from the Ohio two Indians. They come from the French fort, from whence they set out about five days ago: they bring word that the French employ all their forces in building their fort, which is raised already elbow high, and two fathoms in breadth; the middle space being filled up with earth, stone, &c.

All the neighbouring trees have been cut down and burned, and corn has been sown in their room. By their own account they are but eight hundred men; the Indians are of opinion they were but six hundred. A greater number is expected in a little time. They reckon they will then form a body of one thousand six hundred men; with which

S

they

they say they will be able to bid defiance to the English.

18. The waters being still high, I could not proceed with my people and my baggage; which made me resolve on putting myself in a posture of defence against any immediate attack § of the enemy; and to go myself down to make my observation on the river.

19. I dispatched to the half-king, the young Indian returned with M. Wart, with the following speech.

To the Half-King, &c.

BROTHERS, I am rejoiced to hear of your being on your march to assist me with your counsels. Come on brothers; march hastily towards your brother the Englishman; for he is going to receive new supplies, which will protect you against your treacherous enemy the Frenchman. I must send my friends to you, that you may be informed of the agreeable speech which was sent you by the governor of Virginia; he is much grieved at the ill treatment which you have met with. The waters are so swelled, we cannot repair hastily to you; therefore I send this young man to invite you to come to us: he can inform you of a great many things which he has seen at Virginia, and the good usage he

§ That this pretended enemy was not desirous of attacking, appears from the foregoing papers.

met

met with from the most considerable of the people. They have not behaved to him as the French do to your people who visit them at their fort; † they deny them victuals: this young man has had all his heart could wish for. As a confirmation of the truth of all this, I give you a string of Wampum.

20. I embarked on a canoe along with lieutenant West, three soldiers and an Indian; and having gone the space of half a mile, we were obliged to land: where I met with Peter Suver a trader, who seemed to discourage me from pursuing my search after a passage by water; This made me alter my intention of building canoes. I gave orders to march, the waters being low enough to pass over; notwithstanding, I still continued going down along the banks of the river, and finding our canoes not sufficient to contain six men, we stopt and built a boat, by the means of which and our other canoes, we got to the Turkey-foot (in French, *pie de Diude*). About eight or ten miles forwards, we met with several little impediments which are of no consequence, unless the waters should still happen to fall. We passed several places fit for canoes.

† Such then are the only ill-treatments which this pretended Half-king could complain of. The French did not chuse to receive into their forts, ill-disposed, and perfidious Savages. As for the rest, the reception given by the French to the Savages, may be collected from Robert Stobo's letter; which we shall see hereafter.

21. We spent some time in examining the place which we found to be a very fit situation for a fort, being at the confluence of the three branches, and meeting in most places, with a good soft gravel-stone foundation. The plan as it stands here, is as good as I could draw it, without the help of instruments.

We went about two miles to view the course of the river, which is narrow, has many currents, is full of rocks, and rapid; we cross'd it notwithstanding the water was pretty high: from which I am apt to think, that it would not be difficult to make it navigable for canoes; though it would be attended with some trouble.

Besides this, we met with other rapid streams; but the water being less deep, and the current more quiet, we passed them with ease. After this we found few or no bottoms; the mountains lie close to both banks of the river. We went about ten miles lower down; when we found ourselves stopped by a strong current, which obliged us to land.

(From the 22nd to the 24th. the Journal contains nothing but a description of the country.)

24. This morning arrived an Indian, accompanied by the young Indian whom I had sent to the Half-king, from whom he brought the following letter.

*To the first of his Majesty's Officers whom this
may concern.*

“ **A** S it is given out that the French
“ army is on its march, to meet M.
“ George Washington ; I recommend to
“ you, brothers, to be on your guard against
“ them ; for they propose to themselves to
“ strike the first English they shall see * :
“ they have been two days on their march
“ already, I cannot say in what number.
“ The Half-king, and the rest of the chiefs,
“ will join you in five days to hold a council.
“ I shall say no more at present ; but desire
“ my compliments to my brothers the
“ English.”

Signed

The Half-King.

I endeavoured to get as much information as I could from these two young Indians as to circumstances ; but received not much satisfaction from them.

They tell me there are parties frequently out ; but they know of no considerable ones

* This is a device of this Savage. It is proved M. Contrecoeur remained at fort du Quesne. As to M. Jumonville, he cannot be meant by this ; since he set out but the 23d : we have above seen his instructions.

coming

coming this way. || The French go on raising their fort. What is towards the land is well inclosed, but the part towards the water-side is much neglected, or at least has no defence : they have but nine pieces of cannon, and some of these very small. There is none of them mounted : two of them are on the rock, and the others at some distance from the fort on the land side.

They report likewise, that they have several sick among them, and that they cannot find savages to guide their small parties towards our camp, these Indians having given them a denial.

The same day we arrived at the meadows, where we met a trader; who told us he was just come from Mr. Gift's, where he had seen two Frenchmen last night, and that he knew there was a strong detachment on its march. This confirmed the advices of the Half king; I therefore caused the troops to retire behind two intrenchments which were made by nature, and made also the waggons to go into the same place.

The 25th I sent a scouting party on horseback along the roads, and several other small ones to beat up the woods. I gave directions to the horsemen to search the country well, and to endeavour at getting some intelligence of the French; their forces, and their motions,

|| Another proof of the lye contained in the letter:

&c.

&c. At night all these parties returned without making any discovery, although they had been far enough the way, from which this party is said to be coming.

26. Arrived William Jenkins express from colonel Fry; and a letter from colonel Fairfax, who writes me word that the governor himself, colonels Corbin and Ludruelt, were arrived at Winchester; and desired to see the Half-king at that place: on which I address'd him some speeches.

27. Mr. Gift arrived early with an account, that M. la Force with fifty men, whose tracks he had discovered at five miles from this place, went yesterday to his habitation; and that they would have killed a cow, and demolished every thing at his dwelling, had they not been hindered by two Indians to whom he had left the care of his house. I sent away on the spot, a detachment of sixty-five men under the command of captain Hogg, lieutenant Mercer, and ensign la Peronie, three serjeants, and three corporals with instructions.

The French had been making great enquiries at Mr. Gifts about the Half-king: I did not fail giving notice thereof to some young Indians who were in our camp, which had the effect I desired. I gave them to understand * that the French meant to kill the

* It seems an Imposture costs M. Washington nothing: Here he takes pride in it.

Half-king : they offered to go, on the spot, in pursuit of the French with our people ; and in case they had insulted or killed him, one of them was immediately to repair with the news to the village of Mingo, and raise the warriors to strike. One of these young men was detached towards Mr. Gift's settlement, and in case he did not meet with the Half-king at that place, he was to send him a speech by a Delaware. *

About eight in the evening *I* received an express from the Half-king, acquainting me that as he was coming along to join us, they had discovered, along the roads the tracks of two men, who descended into a dark bottom : that he imagined the whole party was concealed in the same place. That moment *I* sent out a party of forty men. *I* ordered my stores to be hid, lest this might be a stratagem of the French to attack our camp. *I* left a guard for their defence ; and with the remainder *I* set out myself in the midst of a very heavy rain ; the night being as dark as pitch, and along a path scarce large enough for one man : we often went astray, and were fifteen or twenty minutes, before we could find out the road again ; and we often knocked our heads together without seeing each other. We continued our march the whole night ; and the 28th about sun-rise,

* This is the name of an Indian nation.

we arrived at the camp of the Indians; where after we had held a council with the Half-king, we agreed to strike together. In consequence of this, he sent a couple of scouts to see whereabouts they were, and in what posture, and to reconnoitre the neighbouring grounds. After this we made our disposition in order to surround them † and we began our march in the Indian manner, one after another. We had advanced pretty near them according to our system, when they discovered us. I then gave orders to my troop to fire. Mine was supported by that of M. Wager, and my troop and his received all that of the French, during the best part of the engagement; which held but a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was routed.

We killed § M. de Jumonville the commander of this party, with nine others: we wounded one, and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M. de la Force, M. Drouillon, and two Cadets. The Indians scalped the dead, and took most of their arms. After this we marched with the prisoners and their guard, to the camp of the Indians; where I again held a council with the Half-

† It is then certain the English had orders to attack.

§ M. Washington is not such a fool as to be sincere in his account of this transaction. But we shall see lower down, how he labours to justify himself; in order without doubt, to silence the remorses that accused him.

T

king,

king. Here I acquainted him that the governor desired to see him, and expected him at Winchester. His answer was; that was impossible for the present; his people being in too imminent a danger from the French, whom they had just struck. † That it was necessary he should send couriers to all the allied nations, to invite them to take up the Hatchet; which he did: and added thereto a French scalp which he sent to the Delawares by one of their young people. This man desired to have a part of the presents which were designed for them; and that the rest might be kept for another occasion. He proposed to himself to return to his family; in order to conduct them and several others towards M. Gift's settlement, where I was to send some horses and men to assist their coming to the camp. After this I set out with the prisoners; they informed me that they had been sent with a warning to cause me to withdraw. This was a specious pretext trumped up in order to discover our camp || and take a view of our forces, and our situation. Their design of reconnoitring us was so evident, that I could not help admiring

† The French then were dreaded only because it was acknowledged that they had been attacked; and that they must have had their revenge.

|| The only hostility with which the French are reproached, is therefore an attempt to reconnoitre the enemy, who was in march, and had orders to attack them.

their

their assurance, in declaring to me they were come with an embassy. Their instructions were, to take a view of the roads, rivers, and the country all the way to Potomack : instead of coming like ambassadors, in a public and open manner, they come with the greatest secrecy, and seek the most hidden places of retirement (*a*), and much more suitable for deserters than ambassadors ; they encamp in these places ; they remain there whole days concealed, though but within five miles of us ; they send out spies to reconnoitre our camp ; the whole troop goes two miles back ; two couriers, of whom mention is made in the instructions, are sent to advise M. Contreœur of the place where we were, and our disposition ; that he may be enabled to send his detachments in order to reform the summons as soon as it should be made (*b*).

Besides this, the attendance was indeed such as might have become an ambassador, whereas, it was but a little simple French officer : what need had an Ambassador, whose character is always sacred, of spies ? when their designs were so good, how came

(*a*) Why this apology in a simple journal ? M. Washington anticipates here on these reproaches only because he is sensible how far he is entitled to them.

(*b*) The French are here supposed to have had a project, which at worst would declare a regular way of proceeding, previous to expelling the English from the territories which they had just invaded, it was natural to summon them to retire. It is an ambassador gives this warning.

they to remain two days within five miles of us (*a*), without communicating to me the summons, or any thing that had a relation to this embassy? This alone would be sufficient to give the strongest suspicions; and it is but doing them justice to say, that their design being to conceal themselves, they could not have pitched upon a better place.

The summons is so insolent, and favours so much of gasconade, that if two men came and brought it openly, it were excessive indulgence (*b*) to suffer them to go back.

The Half-King's sentiment (*c*) on this occasion is, that they had bad designs and that it was a mere pretext; that they never designed to come to us but as enemies, and that had we been fools enough to let them go, they never would have assisted us more in taking Frenchmen.

They pretend they no sooner saw us, than they called out to us; which is absolutely false; for I was at the head of the body that

His business was to give notice of his steps to him who had sent him; that he might take his measures in case the English should refuse complying with the requisition that was made them.

(*a*) M. de Jumonville was thoroughly ignorant of the English being within five miles of him.

(*b*) Another sort of apology which indicates only remories.

(*c*) What an authority is here?

marched

marched towards them, and I can affirm, that they no sooner had spied us than they ran to their arms, without calling out to us; which I must have heard had they done it.

The 29th I dispatched ensign Latour to the Half-King, with about twenty-five men and almost an equal number of horses; and as I expected that some other French parties would follow the one that was defeated, I sent away an express to colonel Fry in order to have a reinforcement..

After this the French wanted to speak with me, and desired to know upon what footing I considered them, whether as being attendants on an ambassador, or prisoners of war. I told them it was in this latter capacity; and gave them my reasons as above.

The 30th I detached M. Wart and M. Spindorph, in order to conduct the prisoners to Winchester underan escort of twenty men.

Being apprehensive that the news of this defeat would no sooner reach the French, than we should be attacked with considerable forces, I began to erect a fort with a small palisade.

June 1, arrived a trader with the Half-King: they say that at the same time M. de Jumonville had been sent here, another party was sent down the river (*d*) in order to take and kill all the English they should meet.

We

(*d*) A palpable falsehood.

We finish our fort.

Towards the evening arrives M. Touvers, ensign, with the Half-King, the Queen Alguipa (*a*) and about five and twenty or thirty families, amounting to about eighty or an hundred persons women and children included. The old king (*b*) being invited to our tents, tells me he has sent Monokatoocha to Logstown with a string, and four French scalps, which were to be sent to the six nations, to the Owendo's, &c. in order to give them notice, that they had struck the French, and desire their assistance in the support of the first blow.

He gave me also to understand he had something to offer to the council, but that he would postpone what he had to say till the arrival of the Chavanons, whom we expected the next day.

The 2d arrived two or three families of the Shawanons and Wolves. Prayers were read in the fort.

The 3d the Half-King calls a council, and informs me of his having received, some time since, a speech from the Great Kettle, in answer to that he had sent him.

The 5th, arrived an Indian from the Ohio, who had gone lately to the French fort: he brings confirmation of the news of the taking

(*a*) The wife of a savage, created queen by the English.

(*b*) Another savage chief.

of two traders by the French, and their being sent to Canada: he says they have stuck their pallisades in the ground, and shut up the avenues of their fort by means of very large trees.

Eight Indian families from this side the river are coming to join us; he has met one of the French, who had made his escape from M. de Jumonville's engagement. He was without shoes, stockings, and almost unable to walk; but he let him pass, as he was ignorant of their having been struck.

The 6th M. Gift returned; he acquaints me with the death of poor colonel Fry, and that the French prisoners are arrived all safe at Winchester, which gave the governor great satisfaction.

I am also informed, that M. Montour (c) is coming with a commission to command two hundred Indians.

M. Gift met a French deserter, who assured him they were but five hundred strong, when they took M. Wart's fort, and that their number was now decreased, having dispatched fifteen men to Canada, to acquaint the governor with their success; that there were still two hundred soldiers, who waited only a favourable opportunity to come away and join us.

The 9th the last division of the Virginia regiment arrived under the command of colo-

(c) This is the Canadian deserter, of whom mention is made in the interrogatory of the English traders.

nel Must. We are informed that the independent company of Carolina is arrived at Will's Creek.

The 10th I received the regiment; and towards the evening I had notice that some French were coming towards us: on this I sent some Indians to beat up the grounds towards *Gist's* habitation, in hopes to discovering them, and finding out their number. In the beginning of the night we had an alarm, but it proved a false one.

The 12th two of the scouts whom we had sent out yesterday returned, having spied a small party of French; the others went on to *Stuart's*. Upon hearing this I judged it adviseable to set out with the major part of the regiment, in order to fall in with these ninety men, whom we had notice of; in consequence of this resolution I gave colonel Must orders to remove all our baggage and military stores, to lodge them in the fort, and to post a strong guard on them till such time as I returned. I set out myself at the head of an hundred and thirty men, and about thirty savages, but at the distance of about half a mile I met with the other Indians, who told me this party consisted only of nine deserters; then I sent M. Montour with some Indians, in order to conduct them safe. I ordered them cloaths, and they confirmed our conjecture, as to the design of the party commanded by M. de Jumonville, and that there
are

are above one hundred soldiers who wait only for a favourable opportunity to come and join us. That M. de Contrecoeur expected a reinforcement of four hundred men: and that these four hundred should have arrived some time before the blow given to la Force. That the fort was complete; that the gates and the front thereof were screened from any artillery; that on the water side there was double palisades; that they have but eight small pieces of canon, and that they know our number.

They also informed us, that the Delawares (*a*) and the Shawanons have taken up the hatchet against us: on which it was resolved to invite these two nations to a conference at M. Gifts. Sent for that purpose Messengers and Belts.

The 13th I persuaded these deserters to write to their comrades, who are disposed to desert, the following letter (*b*).

This letter is not in the journal.

15. Ordered the people to work at the roads.

16. We set out for the red river, and we were under great embarrassments; our waggon having broke down several times.

17. I dispatched an express to the Half King, to desire he would send to the *Wolves*; which he has done as I expected.

(*a*) Such was the effect of the indignation occasioned by the murder of M. de Jumonville.

(*b*) How is this proceeding to be justified?

18. Arrived eight Mingos from Logs-town, who immediately on their arrival talk to me of a commission which they are entrusted with, and say that a council must be called. Being met, they said in a few words, that they had often wished to see their brothers in the field with their forces, and begged we would not think ill of them, for that being among the French, they conformed with some of their customs: that they were naturally inclined to strike the French, and several other things to that purpose: after this they told us, they had brought a speech, and that they must set about it immediately. That, with some thing else, gave us some suspicion of their being ill disposed towards us; and it was for this reason I postponed giving them audience, until the arrival of the Half King. I desired also the Delawares to have patience until the same time, as I waited only for their arrival to call a council, and that I reckoned on their arriving that very day. After the eight Mingos had withdrawn from their council, they sent me some strings of wampum, to desire I would excuse their being in such haste to deliver their speech; but that they were sensible it was just to wait the arrival of the Half King.

The Half King being arrived, I consented to give them audience. A council was held to that purpose in the camp: at which were present the Half King, and several Iroquois, Wolves, Shawanons, to the number of fifty.

The

The speech-maker of the six nations addressed this speech to the governor of Virginia.

“ BROTHERS,

We, your brothers of the six nations, are now come to meet you, and acquaint you, that we have heard you threaten to destroy, entirely, all your brothers, the Indians, who would not come and join you on the road. Wherefore it is, that we, who remain in our villages, expect every day to be cut into pieces by you. We would fain know the truth of this news from yourselves; and we hope you will not take it amiss that we are come to inform ourselves thereof; since you know very well, bad news makes a far greater impression on us than good. That by your answer, we may be fully informed of the truth, we present you this string.

We know the French on our return will ask us, In what number are our brothers whom we have been to visit? We therefore by this string desire you would tell us; as likewise the number of those you expect; against what time, and when you propose to attack the French; that we may advise our village thereof; and also know what we may say to the French.”

U 2

ANSWER,

Brothers, we are glad to see you, and very sorry you should be disturbed by any reports tending to make you believe the English design doing any harm to any one of you or your allies. This news, we see, has been forged by the French man, who is a traytor, and ready to affirm the greatest falshoods (*a*) whenever he thinks it can be of service to him. He has a fine tongue, promises the finest things, but all this is from the lips only; while his heart contains nothing but corruption, and the poison of the serpent. You have been their children, and they would have done, to be sure, every thing for you; but they no sooner fancied themselves strong enough then they have naturally re-assumed their haughty airs, have driven you out of your own country, and declared you had nothing on the Ohio (*b*). The English,

(*a*) From what has been seen above, it will be easy to judge which of the two are the better entitled to this reproach: the French or the English? The imposture which M. Washington confesses his having had recourse to, in order to provoke the resentment of the savages, may convey an idea of the methods employed by the English.

(*b*) 'Tis very true, the Iroquois never inhabited the borders of the Fair River, nor do they at all pretend to it; but the English, who in America call them their faithful friends and allies, endeavour to persuade them, that the borders of the Ohio belong to the six cantons, under the pretence of some ancient wars which the last had with the savages on the Ohio; and in Europe they maintain that this same country belongs to England, of which they pretend the Iroquois are subjects.

who

who are your true brothers, have too much generosity to think the six nations, their faithful allies, should ever be treated in this manner. After you had been with the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, they have, at your repeated requests, *sent an army to support your rights (c)*, to put you in possession of your lands, to guard your women and children, to dispossess the French, maintain your rights, and secure you all this country: this is the business in which the arms of the English are now employed: 'tis for the safety of your women and children that we fight; as that is the true motive of our conduct *(d)*, we cannot reasonably doubt but the rest of your forces will join us to fight the common enemy. Those who will not come in, will be responsible for the consequences. We only wish that our brothers may embrace the party that shall appear to them most proper.

The six nations are those that are principally concerned in this war; for them it is we fight; and I should never forgive myself if I did them the least harm. 'Tis to assist you, and protect you, that we fight; our arms are open to receive you, and our hands are ready to feed your families during the course of the war. The governor of Virginia has several times

(c) In this place the English acknowledge the country not to be theirs; they have therefore no right to charge France with any hostility. It were the business of the Iroquois to complain, and yet they do not complain.

(d) What! behold the subject of the war which is made on France? a protection due to the Iroquois, who have never complained.

desired they should be sent him, that he might behold them with his own eyes, fed and cloathed to their mind : but as you cannot prevail on yourselves to send them to him, we are ready to share with you, in a friendly manner, our provisions ; and we shall take proper measures, and give orders, that a sufficient quantity be brought wherewithal to maintain and cloath your women and children. From this conduct it is evident, how much greater is the esteem which the English bear their faithful allies (a) the six nations, than that which the French bears them. As we have drawn the sword in your defence, and for your cause, delay not a moment longer to put your women and children under our protection ; there they will find abundance of provisions. At the same time let your young men and warriors set about whetting their hatchets in order to join us, and unite themselves to us vigorously in our battles. Brothers, the present which I offer you, is not so considerable as I could naturally wish ; but I expect in a little time to receive a great quantity of marchandise, which I shall have at my disposal, to reward those who will give proofs of their valour and activity on this occasion. For the rest I will reward them in the most generous manner.

(a) In Europe the great argument urged by the English in proof of their title to the country situated beyond the Apalachian mountains is, that the Iroquois are their subjects ? How is that consistent with the reasons which they avail themselves of in America, when they speak to the Iroquois ?

Take courage, brothers, rescue your country, and secure it for your children, lay your hearts open to me on this occasion; that I may be enabled to give an account of your sentiments to your great friend and brother the governor of Virginia. As an assurance of my sincerity and my esteem, I present you this belt of wampum.

The 20th, Another council.

The Delawares no sooner found that they were suspected of favouring the French interests, than they desired to know the reason of their having been sent for, and what was necessary for them to say on their return.

I answered, it was to acquaint them, that it was in compliance with their repeated solicitations we had come with an armed force to their assistance (*a*); that our design was to reinstate them in the possession of the lands which the Frenchman had taken away from them.

That as they had often claimed our assistance, in the quality of ancient and faithful allies, I invited them to come and put themselves under our protection, with their women and children.

Upon this the speech-bearer stretched his quilt on the floor, and on this quilt he placed

(*b*) During all this time the Delawares took the part of the French, and were not the dupes of the air of assurance with which the English endeavoured to persuade them they were come at their requisition.

several belts and strings of wampum in the order he had received them in from the French.

Here are repeated the speeches of M. Contrecoeur ; (c) after which the Delawar speaker addressed me the following speeches.

“ Brothers,

The governors of Virginia and Pensylvania, we your brothers the Delawares recollect perfectly the treaty of Logstown, where you and your uncles the six nations, taking into consideration the bad situation we were in on account of our wanting a man to be at our head to conduct us, gave us a king, and told us he would transact in all publick matters between you and us (d). You recommended to us not to give ear to all the idle rumours which should be spread, but to consult our own interests well, and do what would seem to us right : we can assure you, we have not given credit to all these reports ; nor shall we ever give any credit to such ; but that we will be led by you, our brothers, and by our uncles the six nations, and do on every occasion, what shall be just, and what you shall advise us to. As an assurance of our disposition to fulfil our engagements with you, we present you this belt.

(c) Major Washington does not mention in his journal what these speeches of the French were. He had undoubtedly good reasons for suppressing them.

(d) Should it be from this pretended King that the English have derived so many acquisitions ?

After

After this, they made the following speech to the six nations,

“ Uncles,

’Tis thirteen days since we have received from the council of Onondago this belt; we doubt not but you have been apprised of it. He exhorted us to recollect the old time when he covered us with a robe that descended to our heels: He afterwards desired we would tuck it up to our knees, and tie it well, and meet them at the source of the Sisquehana, where he has prepared a place for us to live at, and that he has sent this speech to those of our nation, who live on the side of the Minisinties; inviting them to the place which he had pitched on to live along with us. He has also sent us a speech to acquaint us that the Englishman and the Frenchman were on the point of coming to blows on the river Ohio; and he exhorted us to do nothing in this conjuncture but what was reasonable, and will himself tell us; lastly, he recommended to us to keep fast hold of the chain of friendship, which has been a long while, subsisting between us, him, and our brothers the English.

A Belt.

After this the Delawares spoke to the Chevanons as follows.

X

“ Grand

“ Grand children, by this string we take you in our arms, and we withdraw you from the place you are now at on the Ohio, and we carry you along with us to live where we live, and where you and we may live in peace and tranquillity.

After this the council adjourned to the next day in the morning.

The 21st we met very early, when I immediately spoke to the Delawares in the following manner.

Brothers, by your open and generous conduct on this occasion, you have become dearer to us than ever : we thank you for not going to Venango upon the first invitation of the Frenchman ; and his childish treatment of you, has raised in us a just and warm resentment ; he calls you his children and talks to you in reality, as if you were children, and had not more sense than children. Weigh well, brothers, and compare all their speeches together, you will find, that every thing they contain may be reduced to this ; I am going to clear your eyes, open your ears, and such like futilities ; such as are made use of to amuse children withal. You will likewise observe, brothers, that if they give their word or make a promise, and confirm it with a belt, they think themselves no longer obligated thereby, than they esteem it their interest to keep it. They have given an instance of this, which I am willing to observe to you, in the
 leap

leap which they say, they have taken over the barrier which you had opposed to them: this ought, brothers, to inspire you with the most just indignation, and induce you to lay hold on the favourable opportunity which we offer to you, being come at your request to assist you; by which means you have it in your power to make them leap back again, much quicker than they had come forwards.

A String of Wampum.

The French are constantly desiring you not to listen to the ill reports which will be spread of them who are your fathers. If they were not sensible in their own minds how much they deserve it by their unjust procedure towards you; why should they suspect that they are impeached? why should they take so much care to prevent you from giving credit to what will be said against them? As to what they will tell you to our prejudice, our conduct alone, will be our answer.

Enquire yourselves into the truth; you know the roads which lead to our settlements; you have lived among us; you can speak our language. But in order to confute what might be said, and give assurances of our brotherly friendship; we invite anew your old men, your women and your children, to take re-

fuge under our protection, and between our arms, where you will be plentifully maintained ; while your warriors and your young people will unite with ours, and espouse the common cause.

A String.

We return you our hearty thanks, brothers, for your declaration ; that you are in a determined resolution to fulfill the engagements you have entered into, by the treaty of Logstown. † And we cannot help applauding your generous conduct towards your grand-children the Shawanese. It gives us infinite pleasure.

We are greatly obliged to Onondago for the advice he has given ; to keep fast hold of the chain of friendship which ties us. I dare say, if he had known how nearly this war concerns you ; or that it was for your sakes, and at your request || that we have taken up arms, he would have commanded you to declare yourselves, and to proceed without de-

† What this Treaty of Logstown is, we do not know. What may be collected from this Journal relative thereto is ; that it was concluded by a man whom the English had appointed to be their King ; and of whom of course, they must have been very certain.

|| Why so many repetitions of the same thing ? unless because M. Washington apprehended, the Delawares would not believe a tittle of it.

lay to action, against the common enemy of the Six-nations.

To convince you of my affection, and as a confirmation of the truth of what I have told you ; I present you this belt.

Gave two large Strings.

After this the council broke up : and these treacherous devils who had been sent by the French in order to make observations, returned back ; not being however unprovided with some discourses prepared on purpose to amuse the French, and to favour the success of our own schemes.

As they had spoke to me of sixteen hundred French, and seven hundred Indians, who they said were on their march to reinforce those at the fort ; ; I prevailed on the Half king, to send three of his people in order to be informed of the truth of the matter ; notwithstanding I was of opinion this news had no other foundation, than the talk of the common soldiers. These Indians were dispatched privately, before the council broke up, with orders to repair to the fort, and get information of all the Indians they should meet there : and if they should learn any thing worth while ; one of them § was to return while the two others were to proceed

§ It was by means of these Indians, that a communication was kept up with Robert Stobo the Spy ; whose letter will make its appearance presently.

on

on their journey to Venango, and round the lake, in order to be fully informed of the whole.

I prevailed also on King Schingués to keep scouts out on the river, in order to give us news in case of the approach of any French. I gave him a letter which he was to send me by his Runners, to prevent being imposed on or receiving false alarms. Although we had not succeeded in persuading King Shingués, and the other antient Delawares, to take shelter in our camp with their families, because they stood in great awe of the council of Onondago; yet they gave us the strongest assurances of assistance, and pointed out to us the means by which I was to go about attaining our ends; which was to have in readiness a great War-belt, in order to invite those who were willing to receive it, and act independently of their king and the council. King Schingués promised to use, underhand, the most subtle means to bring this matter to bear; though he durst not appear in it openly.

The very day the council broke up, I prevailed on Raquehuston a Delaware, on whom I could depend, to carry to the fort a letter which the French deserters had writ to their fellow-soldiers; and I gave him instructions relative to the manner he was to conduct himself in his observations on several articles which I mentioned to him. And indeed, I am thoroughly satisfied of the possibility

sibility of surprising the fort ; in as much as the French encamp outside of it, and that the duty cannot be performed exactly, on account of the works which they are employed in.

I also employed George, another trusty Delaware, to visit the fort in a little time after Raquehuston ; and furnished him with proper instructions ; recommending to him at the same time in a special manner, to return quickly ; that we might be supplied with fresh news.

The council was no sooner broke up, than the Delawaares, as also the half king, and all the other Indians, notwithstanding all that M. Montour could say to dissuade them from it, returned back to the great meadow. In order to make amends for the loss of these Indians, I was obliged to keep scouts out constantly of our own people, to guard against all kinds of surprise.

Having been told that if I sent a string of Wampum and a speech, the Half king and his young men might be prevailed on to come back. I sent the following speech by M. Croghon.

“ It is now some little time since you and we have been met. We have sent by your brother the governor of Virginia, at your own request, repeated several times, in order to assist you and fight your cause. It is therefore for that reason that I must request of you,

you, brothers, that you and your young men do come to join us, and encamp with us; to the end that we may hold ourselves in readiness to receive our brother Monacotoca, whom I expect every day. That this request may be attended with the desired effect, and make the proper impression on your minds, *I* present you this string of Wampum.

As these Indians who were spies for the French, appeared very curious; and used to ask several questions, in order to know by what road we proposed to march to the fort; and when we expected to arrive there. I made the people give over working on the road, and ceased to carry it on any farther. I told them after this we intended to go on with it through the woods, as far as the fort, by cutting down the trees, &c. and that here we waited for the reinforcement, which was coming to us; together with our artillery and our Waggon, in order to take them along with us: but no sooner were these people gone, than I ordered the road to be opened, and carried towards Redstone.

25. Towards the evening arrived from the Great-meadows three men; among whom is the son of queen Aliguipa. He brings me a letter from Mr. Croghon, acquainting me of the difficulties he meets with in finding any Indian that is disposed to come: that indeed, the Half king was disposed and preparing to come and join us; but that he was prevented from

it by a blow which he received. I thought it proper therefore to dispatch M. Montour to the fort of necessity, in order to try whether it was not possible to prevail on the Indians to come to us.

26. Arrives an Indian, who brings word that Monacathoca has burned his village (Logstown;) and has set out by water, for Redstone, with his people; where he may be expected to arrive in two days. This Indian has passed by the fort, and assures us the French have received no reinforcement, except a small number of Indians, who he says, have killed two or three Delawares. I failed not to relate this piece of news, and to represent it in its properest colours to the Indians; and particularly to two Delawares, who are here.

27. I detached captain Lewis, lieutenant Wagghener, and ensign Mercer; two sergeants, two corporals, a drum and sixty men, to endeavour to carry on the road to the place where Redstone-river discharges itself into the Mononghela.

NUMBER IX.

Journal of the Campaign of M. Villiers.

I Arrived at fort du Quesne the 26th of June, about eight o'clock in the morning, with the several nations, of which the general had given me the command.

I was informed on my arrival, that M. de Contrecoeur had made a detachment of five hundred French, and eleven Savages of the different nations of the Fair river; the command of which he had intrusted to M. le Mercier; who was to set out the next day.

As I was this officer's senior; that I commanded the Six-nations; and that my * brother had been assassinated: M. de Contrecoeur honoured me with this command; and M. le Mercier, though deprived of it gave me to understand, it would give him great pleasure to serve the campaign under my orders.

M. de Contrecoeur, called Mess. le Mercier, Longevil, and myself together, in order to deliberate on what was proper to be done during the campaign; taking into consideration the situation, the strength of the enemy, the assassination which they had committed

* M. de Jumonville:

on us ; and the peace which it was our design to maintain between the two crowns.

28. I received my orders from M. Contre-cœur : the provisions were given out : every one embarked ; and we set out from the fort about ten in the morning.

From this moment *I* began to employ Indian runners by land ; to prevent being in any way surpris'd.

I went to spend the night about six or eight acres above the first fork of the river Mononghela ; though I had no intention to make this my way. I called the Savages together and desired their advice. It was determin'd, though a longer way, to proceed by the river Mononghela.

29. Mass was said at the camp ; after which we set out on our march, with the usual precautions.

30. We came to the Stock-house * which was built by laying pieces of timber one over the other, well joined together : the building was about thirty feet in length, by twenty in breadth. As it was late, and that I would do nothing without consulting the Savages ; I encamped about two gun shots from this place.

I called the leaders together that evening ; and we deliberated about the precautions which were proper for us to take for the

* This Stock-house had been built by the English.

security of our wheel-carriages ; the provisions which we intended to leave in reserve ; and the people who were to guard them.

July 1. We went and put our wheel-carriages in a secure place. We disposed in order our effects, and whatever else we could dispense with in the Stock-house. I left to guard them a good serjeant and twenty men, and a few sick Savages. Some ammunition was shared out, and on we marched. About eleven o'clock we spied some human tracks, which gave us a suspicion of our being discovered.

About three in the afternoon, having had no account of our scouts, I sent out some others, who fell in with the first. They mistook each other, and were just going to fire at one another ; but luckily they found out their mistake. They came to us and declared, that they had been as far as the road which the English were making ; that they had seen no body there ; and that it was apparent no body had been there for about three days : we no longer doubted but the English were apprised of our steps.

2. At break of day, we set out on our march, without waiting the arrival of the scouts. After I had marched for some time, I stopped and determined not to proceed farther ; till such time as I received some positive account. I dispatched some scouts towards the road : in the interim arrived some of the Savages whom I had left behind at the Stock-house.

house. They had made a prisoner who said he was a deserter; I examined him, and threatened him with hanging, if he attempted to impose upon me. I was informed the English had deserted their post, in order to draw near their fort; and that they took with them likewise their cannon.

Some of our people discovered the camp which had been abandoned by the English; and thither we went. I sent out scouts, and took care to have every place searched. A great many instruments and other utensils were found concealed, which I ordered to be taken away. It being late I caused my detachment to encamp at this place.

I again set about asking the Englishman more questions, continuing to frighten him and likewise to flatter him; with the hopes of being rewarded. I communicated to the Savages whatever discoveries I made, and my resolution not to expose them rashly. It rained the whole night.

3. At day-break I prepared to march. I invited the Savages to supply me with scouts. The weather inclined to be rainy; but I foresaw the necessity of preventing the enemy; before they had raised the works which they might resolve on.

We marched the whole day through the rain; and I sent out scout after scout: I stopped at the place where my brother had been assassinated; and here I saw some human carcases still remaining.

Being

Being now about three quarters of a league from the English fort ; I made each officer to march in a column at his respective division, in order to have it in my power to dispose of them as the exigency should require.

I sent scouts who were to go close to the camp ; and twenty more to support them ; and *I* advanced my self in order ; when some of my people returned to tell me that we were discovered ; and that the English approached in order of battle to attack us : as it was said they were just close to me, *I* put my troops in order of battle, and in a manner agreeable to the wood-fighting. It was not long before *I* perceived that my scouts had led me wrong ; and *I* gave orders to my troops to advance towards that side from whence *I* apprehended an attack.

As we were not acquainted with the ground, we presented our flank to the fort from whence they began to cannonade us : *I* perceived almost at the same time, to the right, the English coming towards us in order of battle. The Savages, and we also, set up the cry, and advanced to meet them ; but they gave us not time to make our discharge : they filed off, and withdrew into an intrenchment which lay contiguous to their fort. We then set ourselves about investing the fort : it was advantageously enough situated in a meadow, the wood of which was
within

within musket shot of it. We came as close to them as it was possible, to the end that his Majesty's subjects might not be exposed without necessity : the fire was pretty brisk on both sides, and I repaired to the place which appeared most to favour a sally. We succeeded in silencing the fire of their cannon, I may say, with our small arms.

The enemy's fire began again at six o'Clock, with more fury than ever, and lasted till eight o'Clock. We returned it briskly. We took the proper measures for securing our posts, and keeping the English close in their fort during the night. When we had put ourselves into the best position possible, we caused it to be cried out, that if the English were desirous to speak to us, we would cease firing : they accepted the proposal, and there came a captain to that part of the attack where I was. I detached M. le Mercier to receive him, and I went myself into the meadow ; here we told them, that as we were not in war, we were willing to deliver them from the cruelties to which a more obstinate resistance would expose them from the the savages ; that this very night we would take away from them all hopes of slipping away from us. That we now condescended to shew them mercy, as we were come only with a view to take revenge for the murder which they committed on my brother, in violation of the most sacred laws ; and to oblige them to quit the King's territories ;
and

and we agreed with them to grant them the capitulation, of which a copy is annexed.

We considered, that nothing could be more advantageous to the nation than this capitulation; it not being natural, that we should make prisoners of war in time of peace. We made the English agree to give it us under their hands, that they had committed an assassination on us, in the camp of my brother. We had hostages as sureties for the French whom they had in their power: we compelled them to evacuate the country belonging to the King. We obliged them to leave us their cannon, which consisted of nine pieces. We had already destroyed all their horses and black cattle; and we made them still give us under their hands, that the favour we shewed them, was only to prove to them, how greatly we desire to treat them as friends.

That very evening the articles of capitulation were signed: and I had in my camp the hostages I required.

The 4th, at peep of day, I sent a detachment to take possession of the fort; the garrison filed off, and the number of their dead and wounded raised compassion in me, notwithstanding my resentment of the manner in which they had made away with my brother.

The savages, who had in every respect, complied with my desires, had laid claim to the

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the pillage. I opposed it, but the consternation of the English was so great, that they ran away, and left behind them even their flag, and a pair of their colours. I demolished their fort, and M. le Mercier caused their cannon to be destroyed together with the one which had been granted them by their capitulation, the English not being able to take it away.

I hastened away, after having first destroyed the casks of liquor, in order to obviate the disorders which they must have infallibly occasioned : one of my savages took ten English and brought them to me : I sent them away by another.

I lost in this attack only two French and one Pany (*a*), I had seventeen wounded, of whom were two savages ; exclusive of, several wounds so slight as not to require the surgeon's assistance.

I marched this day about two leagues, and caused our chief sick to be carried on litters by detachments.

The 5th I arrived about nine o'Clock at the camp, which had been abandoned by the English. I ordered the intrenchments to be demolished. and the houses to be burnt to ashes. This done, I marched on, after having detached M. de la Chavignerie to burn all the houses in the neighbourhood. I encamped at three leagues distance.

(*a*) The name of a savage habitation.

The 6th I set out early in the morning to the place where we left our waggons, and arrived there about ten o'clock, we put our wheel-carriages in order, distributed provisions to the detachment, carried off the rest, and found some things concealed. After which we burned the *hangard*. I embarked and went on till six o'clock in the afternoon; when I was obliged to encamp upon account of very heavy rains.

The 7th I continued to march, after having detached M. de la Chavignerie to inform M. de Contrecoeur of the success of our campaign; I burned as I went along all the settlements I met with, and I made a surrender about four o'clock, of my detachment to M. Contrecoeur.

Capitulation granted by M. de Villiers, captain, commander of the troops of his majesty, to the commander of the English troops in the fort of Necessity. July 3, 1754, at eight o'clock in the Evening.

AS it never was our intention to disturb the peace and harmony that reigned between two princes in friendship; but only to revenge the murder committed on one of our officers, the bearer of a citation, and on his escort; as also to hinder any settlement on the lands belonging to the king my master.

On these considerations we are willing to shew mercy to all the English who are in the said fort on the following conditions.

Article

ARTICLE I.

We give the English commandant leave to retire with all his garrison, and to return peaceably to his own country ; and promise him to hinder any insult being offered to him by the French ; and to keep, as far as lies in our power, all the Savages, who are with us, within bounds.

II. He shall be allowed to go out and carry every thing with him that belongs to him ; excepting the artillery, which we keep.

III. We grant them all the honours of war and leave to go out, drums beating, with a small cannon ; being desirous to prove by this favour we treat them as friends.

IV. That as soon as the articles shall be signed on both sides, they shall take down the English standard.

V. That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of French shall go to see the garrison file off, and take possession of the said fort.

VI. That the English having scarce any horses or oxen, it shall be allowed them to hide their effects and come back for them when they have got horses ; And for this purpose, they may leave as many people to take care of their goods as they shall think proper ; on condition they give their word of honour, not

to form hence-forward, any settlement in this place, nor on this side of the mountains.

VII. That as the English have one officer, two cadets, and all the prisoners they have made at the assassination of the fleur de Jumonville in their power; and promise to send them back with a safe-guard to fort du Quesne, situated on the river Ohio; We for their sure fulfilling this article, as well as this treaty, require, that Jacob Vambraan and Robert Stobo, both captains, do remain hostages with us, until the arrival of the French and Canadians above-mentioned.

We on our part, oblige ourselves to grant an escort, for the safe conducting back these two officers, upon the return of our French, who are to be sent back in two months and a half at farthest.

This with a duplicate thereof, was signed upon one of the posts of our blockade, the day and year above-mentioned.

By Mess,

James Mackaye
Geo. Washington
Coulon
Villiers.

NUMB.

N U M B E R X.

Translation of a letter wrote from fort Du Quesne by Robert Stobo, an Englishman, one of the hostages for the security of the capitulation granted to the English troops commanded by M. Washington.

SIR,

July 28, 1754.

A Savage, called Tusquerora John, has brought hither an account, which very much alarms all the savages on this river: He says, that the Half-king, Manaquehiha, and a Chevanon chieftain, &c. to the number of thirty seven, have been taken by the English, and made prisoners. He says also, that John Mainot, alias James Cork, of Montier's company, told him, that these thirty seven savages were to be hanged as soon as they arrived at the English settlements, and advised him to make his escape. This was artfully reported on the eve of a great Council between the Chevanons, French, and the savages their allies. The French made them a long and elegant harangue, assuring them, they came not here to *wage war against any body*, but the English would not suffer them to live at rest; that they hoped the savages, their children, would not suffer their father to be insulted in his old age: that, notwithstanding, if they had a mind to join the English,

lish, they might do it; but if they had a mind to think better, they would remain in peace. * This is all I could learn of this council.

The French seconded these words with two large belts, and two strings of wampum. Their allies did the same. There were also considerable presents: to wit, sixteen fine guns, two barrels of powder, balls in proportion, sixteen fine suits of cloaths, many others of less value, and coverings of cloath. The Cheyanons made them no answer, nor did I hear they have as yet.

It is assured, that the Half King and his people were killed, and that their wives and children have been delivered to the barbarity of the Cherokees and Catabocs, who are assembled to the number of three hundred at the new magazine. Whether this be true or not, 'tis certain, that the savages are very much alarmed; and were it not for this news, a number of different nations would have espoused your interest: if this news be true (which I cannot think) you can depend upon no savages in these quarters; which will make our re-

* It is therefore proved by the testimony, even of one of the English, the most prejudiced against the French, that these latter did not excite the savages to the war. This conduct may be compared with the cunning and artifices of the English, which appear so clearly in Washington's journal.

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turn very hazardous: but this is not to be considered.

The Chevanons, Picko, and (a) Delawago, have held a great Council among them: I know not the result of it. I have engaged some of them to join you, and assured them they would be very well received, and that there were many fine presents for the savages at the new magazine. A present made a-propos at this time, might be of great service. If we could engage the Catabocs and Cherokees to conclude a peace, *I* believe every thing would go well. In the combat of the meadow, near the fort of Necessity, we had no more than six or seven savages, which we call our own. I believe they were of the nation of Mingo, and little esteemed in the nation, particularly one John English: He is of the number of those who are looked upon to be spies: *I* knew he was to join you with his men, but be on your guard against them. I send you this by the brother-in-law of Manaquetahas, a good subject whom you may trust.

You'll see on the other side the plan of the fort drawn as well in detail as time and circumstances would permit me. The garrison at present is not two hundred strong, all workmen. The rest are gone off, to the number of a thousand, in different detachments. In two

(a) Savage nations. The Delawago may be the same that M. Washington calls Delawares.

ays *Mercier*, a good officer, will quit the fort, and leave behind him only *Contrecoeur*, and some young officers and cadets. They sent some days ago a lieutenant, with two hundred men for provisions, and wait impatiently for them. At his return, the garrison will consist of four hundred men. They seem here to miss *la Force* greatly; Since his departure there were no scouts sent out. He is much regreted and desired here, which makes me judge he was not an ordinary man. When we engaged in the service of our country, it was expected it would be at the expence of our lives. Let no one therefore be deceived. Consider the advantage that will accrue from the expedition without the least regard to us. For my part I would die ten thousand deaths to enjoy the pleasure of seeing this fort in the hands of the English. The French are so vain of their success at the meadows, that I would sooner die, rather than hear them speak of this affair. Attack this autumn as soon as you possibly can; gain over the Indians; persuade them with judgment; in a word, do what you can and you will succeed: an hundred trusty Indians are sufficient to surprize the fort. They have access every day here. They may hide themselves, so as to be able, without much difficulty, to secure the guard with their *Tamkanko*: let then the gate be shut, and the fort is our own. Here is never in the night but *Contrecoeur* and the guard, which never exceeds fifty men, all the
rest

rest are lodged without the walls in cabins built all round. For the love of God do not communicate this letter but to a few persons; and let those be such as you can depend on: that they have here notice of every thing, is not to be questioned; if they come to be informed of what I write, the loss of the little liberty which I am allowed, would be the least that could happen me. I should be desirous to hear from you; but let no mention be made of this in your letter. Please to excuse the faults which might have crept into this letter, in which there is no great coherency; and believe me your's.

Signed, Robert Stobo.

P. S. Be kind to this Indian. Schinga and Deleavy George are come to this place.

I underwritten, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, certify the having translated from the English into French the above letter, the original of which remains deposited in the secretary's office of the governor-general of New France.

Signed † Perthuis.

We the governor-general and intendant of New France certify, that M. Perthuis, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, has translated the above letter; and that we have heard all the English, who have been in

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this city, say, that the said sieur Perthuis spoke English well, and translated it in perfection. Done at Quebec the 13th of September 1755.

Signed Vaudreuil and Bigot.

N U M B. XI.

*Instructions given to General Braddock by his
Britannick Majesty.*

GEORGE R.

INstructions for our trusty and well-beloved Edward Braddock, Esq; major-general of our armies, whom we have appointed general and commander of all and every of our troops and forces, which are actually in North America, or which may hereafter be sent thither, or therein raised; to vindicate our just rights and our possessions in these parts. Given at our palace of St. James's, the 25th of November 1754, and of our reign the 28th.

Whereas, by our commission dated the 24th of September last, we have appointed you general and commander of all and every our forces which are, or hereafter shall be in North America: In order that you may be the better enabled to answer the confidence of which we have given you that testimony, we
have

have thought proper to give you the instructions that follow.

1. We, having given our most serious attention to the representations of our subjects of North America, and to the present state of our colonies; to the end that our just rights and possessions may be guarded against all encroachments, and the trade of our subjects secured; have given directions, that two of our regiments of foot, which are now in Ireland, commanded by Sir Peter Halket and colonel Dunbar, be immediately sent over to America, with a suitable train of artillery, transports and provisions, under the convoy of a certain number of our ships of war.

2. Upon receiving our present instructions, you shall embark on board one of our ships of war, and you shall make sail for North America, where you will take upon you the command of our forces; and whereas we have appointed Augustus Keppel to command the squadron of our ships of war in the American seas, we require and enjoin you to maintain a perfect understanding and correspondence with him, so long as you shall be employed in the service you are now in; and we have given the same orders to the said commander of our squadron, with regard to the conduct and the correspondence which he is to hold with you.

3. And whereas a number of men shall be wanting to compleat our said regiments; which

are to be composed of between five and seven hundred men each ; and our intention being ; that there be forthwith raised two other regiments of infantry, composed of a thousand men each, to be commanded by governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperel, whom we have appointed to be colonels thereof, in our provinces and colonies of America ; we have given our orders that the rendezvous of the regiment under the command of the former shall be at Boston, and that under the command of the latter at New York and Philadelphia ; and that our several governors shall take beforehand the measures necessary to contribute to their utmost, so as to have about three thousand men in readiness to be enlisted for this purpose, who are in proportion to the number that shall be raised to be put under your command, and are there to be subject to the distribution which you shall make of them in the above-mentioned corps.

And whereas we have thought proper to detach Sir John Saint-Clair our quarter master general, and James Petcher, Esq; our commissary for musters and reviews in America, to the end that they may make all necessary preparations against the arrival of the two regiments from Europe, and for the raising of the forces above-mentioned ; you shall inform yourself immediately upon your arrival, of the governors who shall be the nearest at hand, and in time and place of all the governors,
and

and likewise of the quarter-master-general, and the muster-master-general, what progress they shall have respectively made in the execution of our above orders, to the end that you may be able to act in consequence.

4. It having been represented to us, that the forces of Cork, which are to go over under your command, may want provisions on their arrival in America, we have caused to be shipped, &c.

5. Whereas we have given orders to our said governors, to provide a quantity of fresh provisions for the use of the troops on their arrival; and whereas they are equally obliged to supply our officers with what they shall stand in need of, whenever they shall be obliged to go from place to place, and every thing that shall be necessary for travelling upon land when they cannot go by sea; likewise, to observe and obey all such orders as shall be by you given them, or by those whom you shall, from time to time, appoint to quarter the troops, hasten the transports, provide every thing necessary for such number of troops as shall arrive, or shall be raised in America: and whereas these several services are to be executed at the charges of the governments where they shall take place; It is our will and pleasure, that in order to the execution of all these parts, you do apply to our abovesaid governors, or to some one of them, according to the exigency of the several cases.

6. And

6. And whereas we have moreover commanded, our said governors to use all their efforts, in order to prevail on the respective assemblies of their provinces to raise speedily a considerable sum as they shall be able to obtain, by way of contributing to a common fund, to be provisionally employed in America for the general service, and in particular, to defray the expence of raising the troops which are to be employed in completing the regiments above-mentioned: It is our will, that you give them all the advice and assistance you can towards advancing these advantageous projects; by settling such a common fund as may be fully adequate to the *project of service* which we propose to you (a); but you are to take special care to hinder the giving any money to the troops which are to be under your command; such payments excepted, as shall be made in consequence of the supplies of effective men which shall be made.

7. Having also commanded our said governors to correspond and confer with you on all matters; which may tend towards accelerating the said levies in their respective governments, we require you to aid and assist them in the execution of our instructions; you are therefore not only to keep up a constant and frequent correspondence with them by

(a) To know what this project was, see colonel Nader's letter in the following pages.

letter,

letters, but you are also to visit the said provinces, or some of them, if you think it for the advantage of our service; and you shall put our said governors frequently in mind of using all possible diligence; so as the execution of our projects may not be obstructed by the slowness of the levies, which are to take place in their respective provinces, or by the want of transports, provisions, or such other things as shall be necessary, in whatever time or place you shall think convenient to assign for their general rendezvous.

You shall also assemble a council of war, which we have thought proper to appoint, and which shall consist and be composed of yourself, the commander in chief of our ships, of such governors of our colonies and provinces, such colonels and other land officers as shall be found to be within a convenient distance of our said general and commander of our forces; and it shall be with their advices, or of the plurality of them, that you will determine on all the operations which are to be executed by our said troops under your command, and all the other important points which shall have a reference thereto; in the manner that shall be judged most effectual for attaining the ends for which the said troops are designed, and for corresponding faithfully with the trust which we have reposed in you.

8. You are not only to keep up the most entire harmony and friendship possible with
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the several governors of our colonies and provinces, but even with the chiefs of these Indian nations. You are to endeavour to find out some person that is fit and agreeable to the Indian nations in the southern parts, in order to send him to them for this purpose; in the same manner as we have directed colonel Johnson, to repair to the northern nations, as being the person, whom it is believed, they will receive with the greatest pleasure; to the end that they may be prevailed on to share and act with our forces, (a) in the operations which you shall deem the most advantageous and expedient to undertake.

9. You shall from time to time, inform yourself of the nature and value of the presents which shall be granted by the assemblies of our different colonies and provinces, according to custom, in order to invite and engage the Indian nations to our interests and alliance; and you shall be very attentive that a just and faithful distribution be made thereof, by such persons as shall be charged to make it; and you shall assist these persons with your best advice towards the said distribution; you are to be also particularly attentive that these presents be disposed of prudently, in all the

(a) The orders given to Colonel Johnson were long before this instruction. The project was therefore long since concerted, and the invasion of the country situated on the Fair River, entered into the plan of this project.

occasions

occasions in which they shall be made; and in those exigencies against which, lieutenant governor Dinwiddie, might have made a provision, with regard to the Indians, in consequence of the sums of money which have been already granted in his towns, or else where.

10. It having been represented to us, that the French and the inhabitants (*a*) of our different colonies, hold a correspondence, and carry on an illicit trade together; you are to take speedily all the measures necessary to prevent the continuance of such dangerous practices; and in particular that no sort of provisions be supplied, under any pretext whatsoever, to the French, &c.

11. Whereas we have thought that on the present occasion, it was fit to settle and ascertain the rank which is to be observed between the officers bearing our immediate commissions, and those who serve under the commissions of our governors, &c.

12. You will receive, here-to annexed, a copy of the orders which we sent, the 28th of August 1753, to our several governors, wherein we enjoin them, and exhort our colonies and our provinces of North America,

(*a*) The king of England acknowledges here the general law, which prohibits an European colony to drive a trade with the savages dispersed on the territory of another colony: it is by virtue of this law that the French were authorized to confiscate the goods of the English who came to trade on the Fair River.

to unite together for their common and mutual defence; and you will see by our directions of the 5th of July (of which likewise a copy is herewith delivered to you) our repeated commands for the enforcing our orders of the 28th of August 1753; and that we were pleased to direct that the sum of ten thousand pounds might be remitted in specie to governor Dinwiddie, and to give leave to our said lieutenant-governor to draw for another sum of ten thousand pounds, on the conditions mentioned in our order of the 3d of July last, which was sent to the said lieutenant-governor the 27th of September following; the said sum to be employed towards the general service and protection of North-America. The several other letters of the 25th and 26th of October and 4th of November, to our governors, to Sir William Pepperel and to colonel Shirley (copies of which will be delivered to you, together with the present) will make you thoroughly acquainted with our orders and instructions, which have been made known on this occasion to our officers and governors; and will enable you to inform yourself of their execution, and the advantages which shall have resulted therefrom.

13. You are not to fail sending us, by the first and all opportunities which may offer, a clear and particular account of your steps, and of every thing that is essential to our service, by letters to one of our principal ministers and secretary

cretary of state, from whom you will receive, from time to time, such orders, of a more ample nature, as shall be necessary for your conduct.

“ I under-written ; counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, certify the having translated from the English into French, word for word, the King of England's instructions to general Braddock ; the original of which remains deposited in the secretary's office of the governor-general of New-France.” Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed PERTHUIS.

“ We governor-general and intendant of New-France, certify that M. Perthuis, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, has translated from English into French, the King of England's instructions to general Braddock ; and that we have heard it said by all the English who have been in this city, that the sieur Perthuis spoke English, and translated it to perfection.” Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed

Vaudreuil and Bigot,

NUMBER XII.

*Letter from M. Robert Napier, written to
M. Braddock, by order of his Royal High-
ness the Duke of Cumberland.*

London, Nov. 25, 1754.

SIR,

HIS Royal Highness the Duke, in the many audiences which he gave you, has entered into all the particular details of the service which you are going upon; and, on Saturday, communicated to you his notions as a *better* rule for the execution of the different articles of his majesty's instructions: and as you were desirous that nothing of what passed then, should escape your memory; he has commanded me to set down every thing in writing. His royal highness has this service very much at heart; it being of the utmost consequence to the territories in the obedience of his majesty in America, and the honour of the troops which he employs in the said countries. As you are particularly concerned in this affair, his royal highness takes the greater share therein, as he has made interest with his majesty to procure you this command.

It is the opinion of his royal highness, that immediately after your landing, you consider
what

what kind of artillery and other implements of war it will be necessary to transport to Wills-creek, for your first operation on the Ohio; and this, in such quantity as that it may not be wanting in the service; likewise that you form a second field train, with good officers and soldiers, who are to be sent to Albany, and be in thorough readiness to march for the second operation at Niagara. You are to take under your command what number you shall think necessary, from the two companies of artillery which are at Nova-Scotia and Newfoundland, as soon as the season will permit you; being however mindful to leave a force sufficient for the defence of the Island. Captain Ord, a very experienced officer, and of whom his royal highness has a great opinion, will join you as soon as he possibly can.

When the regiments of Shirley and Pepperel shall be increased to a number sufficiently considerable; it is the opinion of his royal highness that you cause them to encamp, not only for the speedier disciplining them, but also to attract the attention of the French, and throw them into a suspense with regard to the place you purpose to attack. His royal highness makes no doubt, but all the officers and captains of these corps will answer his expectation, in modelling and disciplining their respective troops.

The most exact and the strictest discipline is always necessary; but it can never be too much

much insisted on in the service now under consideration. His royal highness therefore recommends to you the enforcing it among your troops in the most uniform manner. You are also to guard against all panic terrors, in the presence of the Indians, with whom they are not yet acquainted ; and whom the French will not fail making use of, in order to terrify them. His royal highness recommends to you the visiting your posts night and day ; that both the colonels and other officers of the army be exact in doing the same ; and that you yourself set frequent examples thereof ; and to give your troops to understand, that no excuse will be admitted for any surprise whatever.

If the expedition of the Ohio, should take up more time than has been imagined ; and if, while it is carrying on, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should be found sufficient to undertake the reduction of Niagara ; it is the opinion of his royal highness, that you consider, whether you can repair thither in person, leaving the command of the troops on the Ohio to an officer, on whom you safely rely ; or whether it may not be more conducive to the service, to send to these troops some person whom you might have had in view for the command of the Ohio ? This is an extreme nice case, and demands great attention on your part ; inasmuch as colonel Shirley is next to you in command.

Therefore

Therefore if you do send such an officer, he must conduct himself in such a manner, as to appear only in the capacity of a friend and counsellor, with regard to colonel Shirley; who should be wrote to accordingly he ~~not~~ being versed in military affairs: and his royal highness thinks, that this officer ought not to produce, or make mention of the commission which he should have from you, to take the command of him, excepting in the case of absolute necessity.

The above arrangements may serve as a foundation to proceed upon, in case the expedition of Crown-point * may take place, whilst the reduction of Niagara is laboured at.

If it should be necessary for you, after the Ohio expedition, to repair to Niagara with all your forces; his royal highness advises you to examine with the greatest attention, whether it may not be possible to go from the Ohio to Niagara by a shorter way than that of the lakes; which you ought not to undertake under any pretext whatsoever, without a moral certainty that provisions will not be wanting, &c.

As to the design which you have to make yourself master of Niagara, which is of the utmost consequence; his royal highness re-

* This is Fort-frederic: In English, Crown-point.

commends it to you to leave nothing to chance, in the pursuit of that enterprize.

As to the reduction of Crown-point, people are persuaded that the provincial troops will be of much more service ; being better acquainted with the country ; and his royal highness recommends to you, after the taking the fort, to consult with the governors of the neighbouring provinces about a proper place to build a fortification on, which hereafter may may screen both the fortresses and provinces.

As to what relates to the forts which you shall think necessary to erect, which they perhaps are but too fond of in that country ; his royal highness recommends it to you to observe, that they may be contrived in such a manner as not to require a strong garrison ; and he is of opinion, that you should not build forts that are considerable, and of stone, without having previously sent plans and estimates of the said forts to England, in order to be approved of by the government. His royal highness thinks that forts of earth, with pointed stakes and pallisadoed with good ditches, * capable of containing two hundred men, and in case of need, four hundred will be sufficient for the present.

As lieutenant colonel Lawrence who commands at Nova-scotia, has for some time past formed a plan of making himself master of Beaufejour ; his royal highness is of opinion

* Stockaded Forts.

nion, and advises you thereto, that you consult him about this point, both as to the time and manner of executing this project. His royal highness foresees that his majesty's ships will be of great use in this expedition; not only in transporting the troops, stores, and warlike implements, but also in intercepting the stores and other succours which the French may receive either by Bay-Francoise or from Cape-Breton, to Baye-Verte, on the other side of the Isthmus.

As to your winter-quarters, your operations being over, his royal highness recommends to you, to examine whether the French may not be for making some attempts the next season; and what place they will more probably fix on. In this case, it would be more expedient to cantoon your troops on that side, and at such distance from one another, as that you may easily reunite them for the general defence. But you will be able to determine yourself with regard to this, upon the appearances of things, and from the intilligence which has been recommended to you, to procure by all sort of means, immediately on your arrival. It is needless mentioning to you, how attentive you ought to be, not to suffer yourself to be surpris'd. His royal highness thinks, that the greatest difficulty you shall meet with in your errand, will arise from the supplies of provisions for your troops. He therefore recommends to you to

be very careful in this respect, and to take for this purpose as soon as possible, certain measures with the governors, your quarter-master-general, and your commissaries. *I* hope the extraordinary supplies which are carried you by the fleet, and the thousand barrels of beef designed for your subsistence, will facilitate and ensure the supplying of your troops.

I believe to have omitted above, none of all the points on which you desired to have some eclarcisement. If so : you may expose them now, or hereafter. If you will be so good as to communicate to me, such points as may embarrass you, *I* shall take it upon me to lay them before his royal highness ; and to acquaint you with his manner of thinking on the subject. *I* heartily wish you much success ; and as this success will greatly rejoice all your friends, *I* earnestly desire, that you will be persuaded, nobody will take greater pleasure in being informed thereof, than he who is, &c.

Signed

Robert Napier.

Afterwards is written.

I the underwritten, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, certify the having translated

(195)

lated from the English into French, word for word, the above letter ; the original of which remains deposited in the secretary's office of the governor-general of New-France. Done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty five.

Signed Perthuis.

And lower down is written.

We the governor-general and intendant of New France certify, that M. Perthuis, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, has translated the above letter ; and that we have heard all the English, who have been in this city, say, that the said sieur Perthuis spoke English well, and translated it to perfection. Done at Quebec the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty five.

Signed

Vaudreuil and Bigot.

Cc.2

NUMB.

N U M B. XIII.

*Translation of a Register of Letters written
by M. Braddock, to several Ministers and
English Noblemen.*

L E T T E R I.

To Henry Fox Esq; Secretary at War.

SIR, Williamsburgh, Febr. 24, 1755.

AFTER a passage of seven weeks in which I had very bad weather, I arrived here, where I found every thing in great confusion as I expected it: much money has been already expended here, though very little has been done as yet. Sir John St-Clair is just arrived here, and I refer you to his letters, to be informed of the bad condition of the independent companies of New-York: the time since my arrival has been too short, to be able to give you an account of them by myself. The governor here is of opinion, that the people of this province, are well persuaded of the necessity of giving all the assistance in their power towards forwarding an affair that concerns them so nearly. Governor Dobbs is well enough satisfied with those of his province, and hopes to be more so hereafter.

Pensylvania will do nothing, and supplies the French with every thing they want. I shall

shall execute your orders punctually, as soon as I shall have it in my power: I have been under a necessity of appointing a commissary for about fifteen days. I shall have occasion to write to you, and shall acquaint you with all such particulars as I shall think most interesting. I am with a profound respect, sir, &c.

L E T T E R II.

To Colonel Napier, Adjutant-General.

SIR, Williamsburgh, Feb. 24, 1755.

AFTER having gone through all the hazards of the sea from which *I* got safe, I arrived here the 20th of this month. The governor has given me hopes that the people will grow more tractable: and that they see the necessity of supplying me with all the succours they can, in an undertaking which concerns them personally. So little order has subsisted hitherto, that much has been spent in doing very little. Sir John St-Clair arrives at this instant, and you will see by his letters (to which I refer you) what is now done. This man is indefatigable, and has done all that man is capable of doing. You will see, by his letters, the condition of the troops in this country; particularly that of the infamous free companies of New-York. The province of Pennsylvania the most numerous, and the richest of these provinces, will
do

do nothing, and supplies the French. The Six-Nations have now declared for the French. I have as yet but four twelve pounders, which will not be attended with any great effect if I am be obliged to make a breach, but I cannot help that. I shall endeavour to get some from the men of war. We have yet nothing in readiness to transport them. My most humble duty to his royal highness. I am, my dear colonel, your most humble, &c.

L E T T E R III.

To Sir Thomas Robinson, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

SIR, *Williamsburgh, March 18, 1755.*

I Arrived here the 20th of February: the Gibraltar having failed two days after, it was not possible for me to send you by her, an account of the preparations which have been made in the provinces for the service of our expedition; nor of the measures which I must take to make it succeed.

Immediately after my arrival, I forwarded with all speed, letters to the different governors of this continent, in order to prevail on them to exert themselves in their respective governments towards obtaining supplies of men and money, pursuant to the orders they had received from

from his majesty : recommending to them, to lock up their ports in such a manner as to render it impossible for the enemy to draw any provisions from us ; which has been executed here by governor Dinwiddie. I have likewise; agreeable to his majesty's instructions, recommended to them the establishing a common fund out of the money granted by the several colonies ; which will serve as a provisional capital towards defraying the expence of the general service of our expedition, and might be at my disposal ; offering to make myself accountable to each of them for the employment that shall be made of it. Though this is the best step that can be taken towards promoting the service I am engaged in, and the surest road to success ; yet the jealousy of the people, and the disunion of many colonies, as well between them in general, as between each of them in particular, are such, that I almost despair of succeeding. I am indeed very sorry to tell you, that in all appearance, I shall meet with great difficulties in obtaining of these colonies, the supplies which his majesty expects from them ; and which the general interest requires. The different governors of the provinces of this continent will, I think, inform you of what each of these provinces has already done in favour of this undertaking, and what they are to do hereafter : All I can inform
you

you of for the present, is, that governor Dinwiddie has already obtained from his province, twenty thousand pounds currency: and that he hopes to obtain of the assembly, which he has appointed to meet for this purpose, the first of may next, a larger sum. North-Carolina has granted eight thousand pounds; that of Maryland, six thousand pounds; each the current coin of their respective governments.

Though Pensylvania is, without contradiction, the richest and the most concerned in the event of this expedition; yet it has supplied nothing hitherto. I have therefore wrote to the governor a very full letter; which he is to lay before the assembly of that province, if he judges it necessary, to make them sensible of their duty: I send you a copy thereof.

I make no doubt but governor Shirley has acquainted you with the progress made in the raising of the American regiments: I take his to as good as complete, from the accounts that have been given me. As to that of sir William Pepperel, I cannot give you any account. I have taken measures with Mr. Keppel, that these regiments may have, with all the expedition possible, the arms and cloathing destined for each of them. All the transports are arrived, excepting the Severn, which has on board a company of sir Peter Halkett's regiment, which is expected

pected from day to day: I have had no sick as yet. Instead of cantooning my troops, as I at first proposed, according to the account sent to England by Sir John Sinclair, I have ordered the transports to sail up the river Potomack and to fall down to Alexandria, and land them where I design to encamp; the wind being favourable and apprehending no risk.

All the new raised troops of Virginia and Maryland are likewise to join me at Alexandria; I shall take the picked men to complete the English regiments to seven hundred men each, and shall employ the others in the following manner, as has been agreed on with Governor Dinwiddie; viz. to form two companies of carpenters, composed each of a captain, two subalterns, two serjeants, and thirty men. The first of these will be absolutely necessary to make roads and boats, repair the carriages, &c. and I shall make use of the remainder of these supplies to cover the main body, and guard it against all surprizes. These companies will be paid by the provinces, and on the same footing with those of Old England, allowing for the difference of currency, which is about 25 per cent. I have also raised a company of guides, composed of a captain, two aids, and ten men; I have established posts from the head quarters to Philadelphia, Annapolis in Maryland, and Williamsburgh; in order to keep up the

correspondence which is necessary for me, with all the governors of these provinces.

As soon as I can possibly assemble my troops, collect forage, provisions, and other things necessary for a march, I shall proceed; and set about reducing the French forts on the Ohio. It is a great doubt whether I shall meet with any grass on the other side of the Allegany mountains before the end of April, which is the soonest I can get there. I have it not now in my power to give you a just account of the number of troops I shall have with me. Supposing I compleat the English regiments to four thousand four hundred men, the companies of carpenters and scouts to the number above-mentioned, with the independent companies of New York, which fall very short of their complement, as do those of Carolina; I believe the whole will not exceed two thousand three hundred men. I proposed to have augmented them, by means of the provincials, to the number of three thousand. But as I thought it necessary to have an interview with governor Shirley, and that accordingly I ordered him to meet me at Annapolis in Maryland, I have put off giving the necessary directions for this augmentation till after the said interview.

I expect governor Shirley at Annapolis in less than three weeks. Governor Dinwiddie offers to attend me thither, and I have writ to those

those of York and Pennsylvania to meet me there, if the affairs of their provinces do permit it. In this interview, at which commodore Keppel is also to be present, I intend settling the operations, which we shall determine to be carried on towards the northern parts, and entering into an examination of the means, which we may make use of with advantage, to recover the frontiers of the Indians, that are contiguous to several colonies, and secure them for his majesty; and I shall endeavour at the same time to excite the governors to the exertion of all their influence, towards promoting the King's service; in an affair of this importance. I shall lay hold, on the first opportunity to acquaint you with what shall be agreed upon. I cannot tell you justly what forces the French have on the Ohio; but if the various accounts which we have from thence may be depended upon, they exceed three thousand, the major part of which is composed of Indians. It is a general opinion that the Iroquois are in the French King's interest, excepting the Mohawks (a). Governor Dinwiddie flatters himself greatly, that these last will unite themselves with us, as also the Catawbas, a warlike nation, though small in number, and some Cherokees. All the other southern nations appear now to be linked to the French;

(a) These are the Anies.

but as their attachment ought *to be ascribed* to the success which they have *lately obtained over us*, it may be hoped that the appearance of our army, or the least advantage which we shall gain over them, will be productive of a great alteration in their dispositions.

I send you enclosed the extract of a letter from the officer who commands at Chowaguen written to governor Dinwiddie (*b*) which proves the monstrous and absurd falsehoods, which the French make use of, to impose on the savages, and gain them over to their interests.

M. de Lancey, lieutenant-governor of New York, proposes to me in his letters, to employ the money which is to be raised in his government, and is destined for the present expedition, in building forts for the particular defence of that province; as this proposal appears to me to be now quite out of season, I wrote him word, that all the assistance that could be given by the colonies, could not be better employed than in forwarding the present expedition.

Governor Dinwiddie writes me word, that M. de Lancey has agreed to a neutrality, between the inhabitants of Albany and the neighbouring Indians in alliance with the French. I do not see what reason he has had to suffer

(*b*) The most this letter proves is, that the commander of Chouaguen accuses the French of falsehood.

a thing of so extraordinary a nature (c) but as I think it may be attended with great inconveniences, I intend giving him my opinion of it in the strongest terms. I esteem myself very happy in being associated in his majesty's service with an officer, of M. Keppel's abilities and good dispositions; which appears by his readiness to enter into every measure that may be conducive to the success of this undertaking. As but four pieces of twelve pounds were given me with the train, and that a greater number appeared necessary to me, I applied to him to have four more from his ships, with the necessary ammunition, which he has granted me with the greatest readiness possible; as also a deal of other things which I stood in need of: he has likewise let me have thirty seamen, with the officers necessary to conduct them, to attend on the army in its march; I make use of them with advantage in building battoes, in order to assist us in transporting our artillery and heavy baggage; and for their subsistence I fixed it, with the commodore, to three shillings and sixpence a day, for the officers, and sixpence for the sailors; which I shall be obliged to take out of the quotas furnished by the provinces. As I do not find that the provisions which have been made by

(c) What? it was then very extraordinary, that the inhabitants of Albany, would not believe themselves in war with the French and the savages their allies?

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the colonies for the subsistence of our troops; are sufficient, I shall be obliged, in order to supply the deficiency, to take a thousand barrels of beef and ten tons of butter, out of the provisional supply sent from England.

The justice which I must do governor Dinwiddie, will not allow me to conclude this letter without acquainting you, with the zeal which he has shewn, and the pains which he has taken in all shapes, for the good of the service on this occasion; when I consider the faction which has prevailed over him in his government, I find he has succeeded in a manner beyond all hopes.

I have his Majesty's orders to deliver all the French *who shall be taken in this expedition to Commodore Keppel in order to be carried to France*; but as M. Keppel, has had no directions from the admiralty, in this respect, and that *this affair appears to him of too nice a nature* to act in it without order, I must beg orders from his Majesty of a more ample nature in regard to this affair, and that as soon as possible. The Severn is just arrived.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

To the Governor of Pensilvania.

Alexandria, in Virginia April 15, 1755.

S I R,

I Am informed, that there are in your province a great number of Indians from the river Ohio, who have been expelled from thence by the French. I desire you will let them know that I march, with a body of the King's troops, to wrest from the French the encroachments which they have made on that river, in order to re-establish the Indians our allies, and to defend them therein against their enemy. As these Indians must be perfectly acquainted with that country, and that they may be of great use to me, in the course of my expedition, I beg you will prevail on them to come and join me at Will's Creek, with their choice men ; and to assure them, that they shall be well used, and shall not want any thing necessary to them. I beg you will acquaint me with what you have done in this affair, as also what Indians *I* may expect from your province. I hope the states of your government will take care of the subsistence of
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the women and children, until the return of those people: as they would be very troublesome to me if they came to the camp.

LETTER V.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Robinson,
one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of
state.*

Alexandria, April 19, 1755.

S I R,

I Had the honour to write to you from Williamsburgh the 18th of last March, by a vessel which was to sail in eight days after.

The 13th of this month, Governor Shirley, accompanied by the other Governors, of whom I made mention in my last, as also Colonel Johnson met me here.

In this interview, M. Shirley has communicated to me a plan, formed by him and Governor Lawrence, of which he told me he had given you an account of, for attacking the French forts in Acadia; as I entirely approved of it, I sent immediately my orders to Colonel Monckton, to take upon himself this command,

mand, and to set about this expedition, without delay.

I have also settled with him the plan, for the reduction of crown point, which is to be undertaken, only by provincial troops, raised in the northern colonies to the number of about four thousand four hundred, under the command of Colonel Johnson, a person recommended by his great influence over the six Indian nations, and by the reputation which he enjoys throughout all the northern colonies.

As the most important of all our enterprises is that of Niagara, I proposed to M. Shirley that he would charge himself with this commission, which he has done readily. I have accordingly given him my orders for taking his own regiment along with him, which ought to be complete; and Pepperel's, such as it is, in order to go upon this expedition with all the diligence possible. I have heretofore given my orders for the reinforcing the garrison of Chouaguen, with two companies of Pepperels, and the two independent companies of New York; which I looked upon as a necessary step, in order that the works might be put in such a situation, as may hereafter preserve the garrison, and secure our troops a retreat.

As M. Shirley, is the officer who is next to me in command, and that I have the highest

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opinion

opinion of his integrity and his zeal for his majesty's service, I have authorized him, in case no-treasurer was named in the northern parts, to draw upon his Majesty's treasurer to the amount of what will be expended towards the service of his province.

I wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, to prove in this manner the necessity of acting on account of the distance we are at, and the impossibility of conferring together on this subject.

(He writes, that Governor Shirley proposed to him, to treat the two new raised regiments as those of old England.)

The inclosed copy will inform you of the different subjects that have been canvassed in the council, and which I brought on the carpet at the interview which I had with the Governors. As his Majesty has entrusted to me the care of employing such proper persons as I should find most fitting to gain over, the Indian nations to his interests; this, in the council appeared to me of much greater consequence than I had imagined, and to require the greater attention, as their conduct towards us for some years past, is an indication of the six nations being dissatisfied with us, and that a great want of confidence appears on their side, in the arms of his majesty. I proposed Colonel Johnson as the properest man for this errand, on account of the great credit which he enjoys among them; my
choice

choice has been unanimously approved of by the council, and I accordingly sent him a speech which he is to make in my name, together with the most extensive powers to treat with them. He is singly entrusted with the conduct of this negotiation : for this purpose I advanced him the sum of two thousand pounds, of which eight hundred are to be immediately given them in presents, and to be repayed by the colonies, the remainder is for future presents, and in order to pay what it may cost to make them move. I have likewise given him power to draw on Governor Shirley for larger sums, in cases of absolute necessity, without any other condition than that of keeping an exact account of the employment which he shall make of it ; the exigency of the service, and the necessity of my relying upon him, engage me to shew him this confidence, and the instances of probity which he has given on every occasion, are to me assurances that he will make no bad use of it.

You will be sufficiently informed, by the minutes of the council which I address to you, of the impossibility of obtaining from many colonies the establishing a general fund agreeable to the instructions of his majesty, and the circular letters which you have addressed to me for the several governors. Since the last accounts which I have given you of this, very little has been supplied either in men
or

or money by all these provinces. The sum of twenty thousand pounds currency has been expended in Virginia, altho' the money has not been yet paid: the provinces of Pensylvania and Maryland persist still in their refusal to contribute, the province of York has raised the sum of five thousand pound currency for the troops of that province, which I have destined for the particular service of the garrison of Chouaguen; the sum of four thousand pounds has been moreover raised in this province for the fortifications of this government, and above all the metropolis; I have desired M. De Lancey to get it to pass for the general service of the expedition, but I am much afraid it will not be granted.

Governor Shirley will acquaint you, with the expence New England has been at in the prodigious levy of men, which has been made in that government for the *enterprises towards the north (a)*, the other governments have done little or nothing. I cannot help taking the liberty to lay before you the

(a) Prodigious levies made for the enterprises towards the north! Let us recollect the situation of Canada with regard to the English colonies, and the scope of these enterprises will be perceived by every body. Such a number of preparations, and such considerable expences certainly could not in fact have for sole object the ungrateful country which extends from the Apalachian mountains to the fair river, and which is scarce worth the arming one ship.

help

necessity there appears to be of imposing a tax on all his majesty's dominions in America, agreeable to the result of the council, to repay the large sums which must be advanced for his service, and the interest of these colonies in this important crisis.

I am obliged to acquaint you, that the expence which relates to the service of America, will exceed the contingent of each province much beyond what I had persuaded myself it would, and even beyond what the government has imagined. Among other innumerable causes which may be mentioned of the considerable augmentation of the expence attending the service of my province, I shall mention the number of horses, waggons, and battoes, necessary for the transporting the artillery, baggage, &c. the couriers and the excessive price of the day labourers. Though I am fully bent upon proceeding with the greatest œconomy, whether it be repaid by the provinces or not, I shall be blamed by his majesty if by mistaken savings, considering the situation of affairs, it should occasion the miscarriage of the intended operations.

You will give me leave, sir, to refer you to the minutes of the council in regard to the propositions which I had made to these provinces, to which no answer has been made, particularly, in what relates to the battoes, which ought to be built on the lakes: the building of those which are to be on lake Ontario,
is

is to belong to governor Shirley's province, and the expence of these battoes is to be paid by commodore Keppel.

Since my departure from Williamsburgh, I have had the honour to receive one of your letters, with his majesty's directions to augment all the regiments of this continent to a thousand men each; I have accordingly employed towards the southern parts such officers as appeared to me most fitting for the purpose of recruiting; and I dispatched a courier to M. Lawrence, in order that he might execute these his Majesty's orders relative to the regiments of his province, withall the expedition possible.

I have his Majesty's orders to create no new officers in these regiments? but this augmentation of troops, together with the many small detachments which I must make, has already obliged me to name a number of second subalterns, out of those who have been recommended to me from home, to serve without pay, till there are vacancies. There must be an officer to each of these detachments, who is to take care of the provisions and the chest, as likewise to mark out the camps, which as there are no villages, must be done every night, and which are the more necessary in this country, as the woods are very thick; the officer by this means is nearer at hand to have his troop under his eye, and has it more in his power to prevent all surprise from the Indians, who is al-
ways

ways greatly to be apprehended, whatever precaution is taken ; for this and many other reasons which I could recite, I cannot express to you the many difficulties I fear I shall meet in the service which I have been entrusted with, towards the northern parts of America, if the number of officers be not augmented in proportion to that of the troops.

The little dependence that is to be made on this country, obliging me to draw the provisions requisite for the service of this expedition, from many colonies distant, the one from the other. I have been under the necessity of appointing two assistant commissaries for the victualling, to whom I have assigned four shillings per day : I have also named an assistant quarter-master, with the same pay owing to the necessity which I lie under of employing sir John St. Clair, at three hundred miles distance from me now, he being taken up with making roads and bridges, and providing us with waggons, horses, &c. for the transporting our stores, provisions, and artillery. I have met with so many obstacles in getting carriages, which could not have been surmounted, had it not been for the zeal and activity of the officers, and others employed to this purpose. The want of forage, is an obstacle which I see no remedy for, but letting out the horses to feed on the mountains. I propose
to

setting out to-morrow morning from hence on my way to Frederic, in order to go by the way of Wills-creek, where I should have been before ; but that I have been obliged to wait for the artillery : and I am much afraid the same will delay me still longer. I hope to be on the mountains in the first days of May, and in the course of the month of June to be able to dispatch you an express ; who shall inform you of the issue of our operations on the Ohio.

Notwithstanding I have used every method for that purpose, I have not been able to procure more ample intelligence of the number of the French at present on the Ohio ; but I expect to receive more certain accounts of them when I get to Wills-Creek : and I shall take my measures accordingly.

I cannot enough express to you, the satisfaction I feel in being employed in his majesty's service in America, at a time when I have it in my power to form and execute the plan of attacking the French in all their considerable posts, which have been so many invasions on his majesty's lands in North-America ; from the northern side, to that of the south. I see a great appearance of success in each of them ; *but I perceive so close a connection between each of these projects, that the success of one, is a sure pledge of that of the other.* If I therefore succeed in the first and most important of these projects, I am
 persuaded,

persuaded, will succeed in stopping the progress of the French in their new settlements; and that this will be sufficient to raise the drooping spirits of his subjects of this continent; and to rouse them from their indolence, and the neglect of their duty, with which they have been, for some time past, so justly reproached.

I am,

With the greatest respect, &c.

Lower down is written.

I the under-written, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, certify the having translated, from the English into French, word for word, all the letters contained in the present register of major-general Braddock's: the original of which remains deposited in the secretary's office of the governor-general of New-France." Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed PERTHUIS.

And still lower.

We governor-general and intendant of New-France, certify that M. Perthuis, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, has translated from English into French, all the

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letters

letters contained in the present register ; and that we have heard it said by all the English who have been in this city, that the sieur Perthuis spoke English, and translated it to perfection. Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed

Vaudreuil and Bigot.

Other Letters of Mr. Braddock's, found in a Book a-part from the above Register.

To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

Williamsburgh, March 20, 1755.

My Lord,

I Lay hold on this first opportunity of executing your grace's commands by acquainting you with my arrival here, and that of the vessels which have transported the troops under my command. My voyage was attended with great fatigue, but the transports have been better off ; there not being one man sick on board of them.

" I am as yet ignorant, what effect the orders of his majesty (with regard to the present expedition) will have produced on the minds

minds of the generals. * I cannot say that they have had, as yet, all the influence which it was reasonable to expect they would have: I labour hard, and shall always labour to excite them to use their utmost to prevail on the provinces to bear the expences of this expedition; it is their duty to do it, in order to shew their attachment to his majesty, and correspond with what they owe to their own interests."

To this purpose I wrote to governor Shirley to meet me at Annapolis in Maryland, and I desired the governors of New-York and Pennsylvania to come also; in case the business of their governments allow it.

I shall not enter into a circumstantial detail of all the things which take up my time in the service in which I have engaged myself, having wrote at large upon this subject to the secretary of state; you will please to give me leave to refer your grace to his letter, for your more particular information.

Shirley's regiment is almost completed, if not already so: that of sir William Pepperel is, I believe, in great forwardness. When I see Mr. Shirley, I shall settle with him about the best manner of employing his forces towards the north; and I am to set out on my

* The Enterprize therefore of the English is to be ascribed to positive orders from the Court of London; and not to the over-heated zeal of the Governors of the English Colonies,

march with those which I shall have under my command, in order to the reduction of the French forts upon the Ohio; and I flatter myself I shall get, at the end of April, beyond the Alegany mountains.

I have had from commodore Keppel all the assistance possible; and in the governor of this province, I have found a man, who assists in the most handsom manner in supplying the wants of this expedition. By the industry of this governor, this province is now disposed to supply abundantly what it can; which is what I dare not flatter myself with, from the other governments.

As small coin would here be of great utility for paying the troops, I beg your grace would give orders to the contractors, M. Hanbury and M. Thomlinson, to send over, as soon as possible, if they have not done it already, four or five thousand pounds in dollars and half dollars; the pay-master of the troops having nothing now by him but gold.

I am,

With the most profound Respect, &c.

To

To the Earl of Hallifax,

(without date.)

My Lord,

THE interest which your lordship takes in every thing that relates to his majesty's dominions in America, and the share which you have in the administration of their government, call upon me to give you an account of my situation ; which I hope will not prove displeasing to you. Your lordship has, without doubt, been informed of the good success that has attended the transports hither ; and the measures which I took to succeed, on my arrival, in promoting the service of his majesty, under my direction, and which I hope will tend to his interest, and that of his subjects on this continent.

I have some time since, sent to the secretary of state an account of the supplies which I have received from all the colonies on the present occasion ; there is no need of sending you the particulars thereof.

I am sorry to have been under the necessity of saying, that in general the inhabitants of these colonies, have all shewn a great deal of indifference for his majesty's service, and their own interests ; however they do not all fall under this censure, and particularly those of the province I am now in, are not to be compared

pared with their neighbours, and may not have deserved reproaches.

I am persuaded the account which your lordship has received of the good disposition of the northern colonies ; and in particular that under the command of Mr. Shirley, ought greatly to have enhanced his merit with his majesty.

I cannot sufficiently express my indignation against the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, which being quite as much concerned in the event of this expedition as this here, and much more so than any other on this continent, refuse to contribute in any shape, towards the support of this project ; and even what they propose, they do it only on such terms as are intirely contrary to the prerogatives of his majesty, and his instructions to his governors.

You will perhaps be glad to hear that I have assembled the governors Shirley, and those of New-York, Pennsylvania and Maryland ; and that in this assembly I have settled the plan which is to be pursued in attacking at once, the French in their encroachments on us at Nova-Scotia, at Crown-Point, and at Niagara, and which we are to do with all the vigour possible. (Here he repeats all that he had written to Sir Thomas Robinson in his letter of the 19th of April 1755, which is the 5th in the above register.)

I have given a full power to Colonel Johnson, to negotiate with the six nations and their allies,

allies, and with all the other Indians of the West, as far as he shall find it necessary; and I delivered him words, which he is to present to them in my name; I have likewise given him money to make presents and have authorised him to draw on M. Shirley, if he finds it necessary, on this occasion.

“ M. Peronal has presented me a contract passed in 1701 by the six nations, by which they make over to his majesty all their hunting grounds: this cession takes in, on the side of the lakes Ontario and Erie, an extent of country of sixty miles in depth. I delivered this contract to Colonel Johnson, with orders to present it to them in my name, and to assure them that I am come here only to retake these countries from the French (*a*), and preserve them for their use.”

I shall not pursue word for word what was determined upon in the council, in regard to the building of vessels on lake Ontario; we agreed, the commodore and myself, that the direction of this affair should be entrusted to M. Shirley, and that it was proper he should have the liberty to determine, at his will, the bigness and strength of these vessels.

(*a*) It is very strange, that notwithstanding this pretended contract so much insisted on in Europe, the English should be reduced in America to the necessity of endeavouring to persuade the savages, who are not the dupes of it. that they make war only to re-instate ~~them~~ in their country.

I pro-

I propose marching in order to attack, with all possible speed, the fort on the Ohio. I thought I should have been by this time on the mountains, but I have been kept back by a number of difficulties, not only on account of the ill situation of the country, but likewise the great number of horses, waggons, and other implements which have required much time before they could be made use of.

I set out to-morrow for Frederick on my way to fort Cumberland in Wills's Creek; and before the end of June, I am in hopes I shall be able to give some account of the affair of the Ohio.

I hope it will be in my power to execute the plan which I have formed of recovering from the French the most considerable of the encroachments which they have made on his majesty, on the frontiers of the northern part of America. If I succeed in the most important of these operations, I am persuaded his majesty will easily put a stop to the projects of the French which daily grow more and more extensive on this continent. I am with respect, &c.

Another

Another letter, which was, it is presumed, written to M. Robinson, though it bears not the name of the person to whom it is addressed.

*At fort Cumberland in Wills's Creek,
June 5, 1755.*

SIR,

I Had the honour to write to you from Frederick in the last days of April.

The 10th of May I arrived here, and the 17th the rest of the army came up also here from Alexandria, after a march of seven and twenty days, and having met with great delays and difficulties, not only on account of the bad roads, but also the want of forage, and indeed the want of zeal in the people for the success of our expedition.

I have at last assembled all the troops destined for the attack of fort du Quesne; they amount to two thousand effective men, eleven hundred of whom are supplied by the southern provinces, who have so little courage and good disposition, that scarce any military service can be expected from them, although I have employed the best officers to form them.

My design on my arrival here was to stay but a few days, only to refresh my troops; but the difficulty of getting waggons and

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horses

horses to cross the mountains has detained me a whole month.

Before I set out from Williamsburgh, the quarter-master-general told me, I might depend on two thousand five hundred horses and on two hundred waggons, as well from Virginia as Maryland; but I had great reason to mistrust it; from the experience which I have had of the deceit of all the persons of this country with whom I have had any dealings; wherefore, previous to my departure from Frederick, I desired M. B. Franklin, post-master of Pennsylvania, who has great credit in the province, to conclude a bargain for an hundred and fifty waggons with the horses necessary, which he has executed with equal quickness and probity; and indeed this is almost the only instance of capacity and honesty that I have seen in all these provinces. All these waggons and horses have joined me, and on them I ground all my hopes, the fine promises of Maryland and Virginia have ended in a supply of twenty waggons and two hundred horses. With this number I shall be able to set out from hence, though I shall meet with infinite difficulties, especially as I shall march with half the quantity of stores which I expected to have had; and having been obliged to send before me a detachment, in order to fix upon a place to lodge our stores in, on the Allegany mountains, which are five days march from hence.

I should

I should never finish, were I to enter into a detail of the innumerable instances which I could give of the want of honesty, which I found both in general, and in particular; and the most absolute contempt of truth, which I have met with in the course of this service. I cannot help adding to what I have already told you, two or three instances.

An agreement was put into my hands, made by the governor of Virginia, for the purchase of eleven hundred bullocks, which were to be delivered in June and in August, for subsisting the troops: this bargain had been concluded on the credit of twenty thousand pounds of the country granted by the assembly for his majesty's service towards this expedition. I immediately regulated my dispositions accordingly, but in a few days after the person, who had engaged in this agreement, came to tell me, that the states had refused to fulfil the governor's engagements, and consequently the bargain was void. As this was of the utmost consequence, I offered immediately to become myself security for the money, on the terms stipulated in the contract, but the contractor rejected my offers, and required of me a third over and above what was stipulated in the said agreement, nor would he engage for the forth-coming of the oxen in less than two months, at which time they would be of little or no use.

Another example : the Maryland agent employed to supply the troops with provisions, had got some together, which at first sight were found to be all spoiled, and *I* saw myself under the necessity of sending an hundred miles in order to buy up others.

This disposition of the people not only delays the schemes of his majesty, but likewise encreases the expences to near double : “ these are occasioned by the difficulty of carriage thro’ countries hitherto uninhabited,” and still unknown and impracticable to the inhabitants themselves, who dwell in the lower parts, meeting every where with a continual chain of mountains, so that the expence surpasses greatly the principal, this has been the cause of my leaving at Alexandria a quantity of stores, which would be very necessary for me here. The conduct of all these governments to me appears unexampled. This negligence is somewhat excusable in the lower sort, because their trouble has not been sufficiently rewarded, and that having been employed in the publick service on former occasions, the payments were neglected. We learn from experience, what the ill consequences are of such proceedings.

As I have his majesty’s orders to employ all possible means to fix the Indians in our interests, I have assembled some from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and especially of the Six-nations, and have had already two or three con-

conferences with them. I have made them some genteel presents: they are now fifty in number, but I hope to draw a far greater number to me. When I arrived in America, they assured me that I might depend on a very great number of the southern Indians; but they have been totally alienated from us by the bad conduct of the government of Virginia: the truth is, that in all the dealings with the Indians, these people have behaved towards them with so little regard, and so much *dishonesty*, that a very large expence would be now necessary to gain back their confidence, and none is to be had even in those who have embraced our interests.

The situation of the country is such, that the French can have no communication there but by means of the Indians, on whose report there cannot be much reliance; I am informed, that their number is very small at fort Du Quésne, but that they expect a strong reinforcement.

They write me word that two thousand stand of arms are arrived. They were intended for New-England, but shipped off for Nova-Scotia.

The battoes destined to transport the troops which are to form the attack of Niagara and of Crown Point, are getting ready. However, New-York, which is to supply the greatest part of them, does not shew as much zeal for this affair as I could wish.

It

It having appeared to me, that a road through Pennsylvania would be shorter and more proper for establishing a communication, after the troops have passed the Allegany mountains, I desired the Governor to make one in that province, from Philippsburgh to the river of Yaughy-Aughane. I am just informed, they are working on it constantly, and that it will be compleated in a month. This road will be of the greatest importance, both to facilitate the arrival of convoys, and to secure my communication with the northern colonies.

I now wait only for my last convoy to set out on my march, and if no accident intervenes, I am in hopes to begin it in five days by the Allegany mountains. I expect to meet many obstructions, agreeable to the accounts which have been given me. The distance from this place to the fort is one hundred and ten miles : we shall be continually employed in making a road as we proceed, which must be done with infinite labour a cross mountains and rocks of an excessive heighth, which are steep, and divided by torrents and rivers.

I will take the first opportunity to acquaint you with my situation, after leaving this place, and am with the profoundest respect, &c.

I under-written Counsellor in the superior council of Quebec certify, the having translated from English into French, word for word,

the above three Letters, the original of which remains deposited at the secretary's office, of the Governor General of New France. Done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed Perthuis.

And still lower: We Governor-General and Intendant of New France, certify, that M. Perthuis Counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, has translated from English into French the above three letters, and that we have heard all the English who have been in this town say, that the Sieur Perthuis spoke English, and that he translated it to perfection. At Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed, Vaudreuil and Bigot.

We could add in this place two other letters, one from General Braddock to Commodore Keppel is dated Williamsburgh, February 27. by this letter he begs he would cause the cohorns, carcasses; and other engines destined to carry fire into vessels or intrenchments, to be immediately landed. The other is from M. Robert Orme, aid-de-camp to the General, and addressed to Sir Peter Halket. He gives him different orders, and mentions to him among other things: " His excellency, orders you to receive all the deserters, and to cause them

them to be supplied with every thing they shall demand: he desires, that if they chuse to enlist, they may be taken without difficulty, and that neither the term nor appearance be considered, in order to pass them as effective."

Letter from M. Charles Lawrence to General Braddock.

Hallifax, May 10, 1755.

S I R,

I Had the honour to receive your letter, dated from Annapolis in Maryland, April 7. by a vessel arrived two days ago from Philadelphia. You will give me leave to assure you, that nothing could give me greater pain, than that you should have the least idea of my having failed in my duty, and the due deference which I make a point of shewing to those I owe any. 'Till the instant I received your letter, I was neither informed of your arrival in Virginia, nor of the extensiveness of your commission; and no sooner have I been apprized thereof, than I have taken the first opportunity to send you a general state of the situation of affairs in this province, and an account of the forces and troops which his Majesty has here, with remarks on the several particulars: I flatter myself you will have received them, and that they

they will meet with your approbation. I allow my having communicated to Commodore Keppel, as he has acquainted you ; the projected expedition, in order to put a stop to the French encroachments at Beaufejour and the river of St. John, which has been concerted between Governor Shirley and myself. And what gave rise to this, were the primary orders which captain Rous, commander of one of his Majesty's ships, had received from the Admiralty, to take orders from the Commodore, which together with some other advices, made me conclude, that M. Keppel was in Virginia ; but *I* had then no knowledge of your arrival in America, nor even any certainty of your coming there, and *I* could less still form any certain judgement as to the nature and extent of your commission. Such is the real state of the case : I hope you will do me justice.

Lieutenant-Colonel Moncton, with the troops of the province under his command, is now, I believe, very near, if not before the French fort of Beaufejour ; and as I have cut off all the communication by land between this place and the northern parts of the province, in order to put it out of the power of the French to get any intimation that may be prejudicial to our designs, I cannot acquaint you, with the progress that the Lieutenant Colonel has made. I shall do myself the

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honour

honour to inform you of the particulars of our enterprize by the first opportunity.

I shall be particularly attentive to your orders for augmenting to a thousand men each of the regiments that are here, and shall lose no time in doing it. If *I* was informed of the conditions on which those people are to be raised, and what pay they are to have: but as the particular orders concerning the augmentation, are not yet come to my hands from England, and that no officer is yet arrived I believe you will judge it impracticable for me to proceed in it, till such time as *I* shall have the instructions and assistances necessary.

Upon the advices which I received from New England, with regard to the men, raised there for governor Shirley's and Sir William Pepperel's regiments, and the difficulties met with in raising these recruits, I fear greatly that the augmentation of your troops will take up much time, and be at the end; but badly composed, if I should be obliged to send there for the number which shall be wanting. But I hope to meet with better success among the provincial levies now at Beau-sejour, who, if I am well informed, are composed of good men, and may be enlisted more speedily, and at less expence, than those who may be taken from the continent, after the number of recruits already raised there.

In

In my letter of the 29th of March, I proposed to governor Shirley to apply ourselves to you, in order that his regiment, or that of sir William Pepperel's, might come here to protect the province, in case I should think it necessary: but observed, that afterwards I did not see any great necessity for a measure of this sort, being on the point of receiving two thousand, and between two or three hundred men who are at Beausejour; the only passage by land to this place, by which we might have any thing to apprehend from our neighbours the French: I am still, of this sentiment; there being as yet, no real alteration in the face of affairs in America: however, should a rupture happen with France (an event founded on appearances and reports) it would be extremely necessary for us to keep on our guard. I esteem it my duty to acquaint you that in such case, the three regiments augmented as it is proposed, with the scouts, the militia, and all the forces that we can depend on, will no-ways be in proportion to the number of posts which we must be obliged to defend; especially if it be considered, that even in the heart of the province, we have what they call neutral French; inhabitants well armed, well experienced in the use of arms, and also are connected with the French

King; * so that upon the least attempt which Canada should make to invade us, I believe it is more than probable that they would immediately join them. As I take this article to be of importance, I thought it my duty to submit it to your reflection.

I under-written, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, certify the having translated &c.

N U M B. XIV.

Speeches pronounced to the Savages, by order and under the inspection of M. Johnson; and the answers which were made him.

S P E E C H I. §

To the Six-Nations, on the part of General Braddock.

Brothers, and Allies of the Six-Nations.

I Have already called you several times together, to treat with you about different affairs, of which I had no knowledge before

* The motions therefore of the French, were apprehended only in case of a rupture; that is to say an open war. This destroys the accusations contained in the Memorials sent by Mr. Cornwallis.

§ This Speech holds the first place in general Braddock's Register. But it is likely it was not pronounced till after the one that follows.

I came

I came among you ; and which are not yet known to your father the great king of England, of which I shall take care to inform him ; and to offer to you in his name, the presents that are here before you, which he gives you as a testimony of his paternal affection.

I have delayed you for some time, with your women and children, in hopes of seeing soon your brothers the Delawares, * but as their arrival is as yet uncertain, and that I know you do not love to remain inactive ; and that moreover, the service of the great king your father requires a quick assistance from you, I propose to you to accept the Hatchet ; and to the end that you may exert your warlike dispositions ; I advise you to send your women and children to Pennsylvania : I have recommended to the king's governor of that province, to take particular and brotherly care of them.

A fine Belt of Wampum.

Brothers and Allies of the Six-Nations.

IT gives me great pain to see how much you suffered yourselves to be ill-used and

* These Savages are likewise called Wolves. They had quitted the party of the English, since the assassination of M. de Jumonville.

deceived

deceived † by your perfidious neighbours the French; and even by some of your brothers the English: The French have insinuated to you that we who are your faithful brothers, designed to turn you out of all your hunting lands, and to seize on them for our own use: You were greatly imposed upon, when you assisted the Frenchman in executing the horrible plan which he lays to our charge, by putting himself in the real possession of those lands which we intended to secure to you for your own use solely, and your particular interest. I declare to you in the presence of your chiefs and your warriors who are here assembled, and agreeably to the instructions I have received from the great king your father; that if you will *heartily* * *give me your assistance; I will re-instate you in the possession of your lands*, of which you have been dispossessed by French fraud; and *I will* at the same time, secure you an open trade in America, from the rising to the setting of

‡ The French are here no longer charged with violences against the Savages, but with devices, to gain over their neighbours. How does this discourse agree with those of M. Washington? who endeavours to persuade these same Iroquois, that he is come but at their requisition, and on their repeated complaints.

* The Iroquois have been expelled by the French. It is designed only to put them in possession of their property. It is they desired the English to come; yet they are entreated to *lend heartily their assistance to the English*. The pretended deliverers are here obliged to petition.

the

the Sun. It is very well known, that I have no particular views or any other design, than that of serving mutually, the interests of the great king your father ; and of the Six-Nations, and their allies ; and I promise you to be your *friend* and your *brother* † so long as the sun and moon shall endure.

A great Belt of Wampum.

I have been assured that when presents were made you on former occasions, some of our people have been so wicked as to provoke your young men to drink, and got by this means for a very small matter, what had been given you. I have given orders to prevent for the future such proceedings ; by threatening with death, all those who should be convicted of this fault : and I beg you will lay before me your complaints against those who shall act in this manner ; and, as a *friend* and a *brother*, I will do you justice.

I have nothing farther to desire, but to see you accept with pleasure, the presents which lie before you, and see you divide them among you, according to your custom and your native equity. I hope they will prove agreeable to you, and you may from time to time, depend on receiving great rewards for your services. I have given orders that arms

† What becomes of the Rights of the English to the Ohio, if they do not possess the country it washes, but as sovereigns of the Iroquois.

powder and balls, be distributed to such of your warriors as want any.

Brothers, I have been informed of the perfidious conduct of the French, towards our late brother the Half-king; and to prove to you how sensible I am, as well as yourselves of his ill-usage; and hope that you will join with me to revenge him: I cover his death with this belt.

Brothers Delawares and Chevanons. *

You did a wrong thing in following the advice which the French gave you last Autumn, to assassinate a number of your brothers the English, in the habitations of Carolina; I am persuaded this did not proceed from any inclination that was natural to you, but only that you acted by the instigation of the French: therefore if you acknowledge your fault, and that you will unite yourselves to me frankly and chearfully; I am willing to forget this unfortunate transgression, and I will still receive you as brothers. This I confirm to you in the name of, and as authorised by the great king your father, with this string of Wampum.

Signed J O H N S O N.

May 15, 1755.

* The Iroquois Deputies, in whose presence M. Johnson spoke; could make him no answer relative to the suggestions which he ascribes to the French, in the eloquent apostrophe, with which he addresses the Delawares and Chevanons.

S P E E C H II.

The Speech of the Honourable William Johnson Esquire, super-intendant for the affairs of the Indians, to the warriors of the high and low Castle of the Iroquois Indians; in the presence of lieutenant Butler of Rutherford's company, of captain Matthew Ferral, lieutenant John Butler; and of

<i>Mess.</i>	<i>Daniel Clause Peter Warpalle</i>	} <i>Secretaries for Indian Affairs.</i>
	<i>William Printus Jacob Clement</i>	
		} <i>Interpreters.</i>

Brothers of the two Castles of the Aniés.

I Wipe away all tears from your eyes, and clean down your throats, that you may see and speak without restraint. I am glad to see you, and I salute you heartily.

Gave a string of Wampum.

I wish you could have conformed to what I desired of you by a letter, which I wrote to you from New York immediately on my return from Virginia; wherein I begged, that all your chiefs and warriors would wait

for my return home; in order to hear the news and be informed of the orders which I received from his excellency general Braddock, (a great warrior) whom the king, our common father, has sent to this country with a great number of troops, large cannons, and other implements of war; in order to protect you, as well as his subjects of this continent, and screen you from the encroachments, and all insults, on the part of the French.

I have been to meet this great man, with the governors of Boston, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland: we also found there, the governor of Virginia; and another great man, who commands the ships of war belonging to the king in this part of the world. They deliberated in the great council upon many important affairs; among which great attention was paid to the advantage and interests of our brothers the Six-Nations and their allies.

Brothers. The tree which you and the rest of the Six-Nations have so often, and so earnestly desired should be replanted, is grown up by so powerful a hand, that its root will penetrate to the bottom of the earth, and its branches will form a refreshing shade, to cover you and your allies withal. I am to acquaint you that, agreeable to the instructions which the great king your father has given to general Braddock, I am appointed to be sole superintendent over all the

the affairs which relate to you and your allies, in this part of the world. I invite you, and your brothers of the six united nations, and your allies to come and seat yourselves under this tree ; where you may freely open your hearts, and heal up your wounds ; and at the same time I transport the shadow of the fire which was at Albany, and rekindle the fire of council and friendship in this place : *I* will make it of such wood as shall make it produce the greatest light and the greatest heat. I hope it will prove advantageous and comfortable to all those who shall come to light their pipes at it, and that its sparks and fiery coals will burn all those who are, or shall be its enemies.

I hope that you and all your brothers, will be pleased to augment the lustre and advantage of this fire, in keeping and holding it always high, by uniting yourselves with that diligence and zeal as may make it a blessing, not only to yourselves but to all your posterity. To attain and secure this salutary end, it is absolutely necessary that you extinguish all fires that have been kindled by fraudulent and unnatural ways ; which give light only to deceive you, and at long run, to annihilate you and yours.

A Belt.

Brothers, With this string of Wampum I make clean the chamber of council, and clear

it so as nothing offensive remain in it; and I hope you will be pleased to take care that no malignant spirit do creep in among us, and that nothing do interrupt our harmony.

Gave a string of Wampum,

Brothers, It gives me concern to see, now at my return, that many among you of the two villages, have a mind to go to Canada. It would surprise me greatly, should you, who have been our most faithful friends, and our nearest neighbours, betray on any occasion, a desire of being imposed upon by the wicked artifices of the French, who are so well known, and of whom you have had such fatal tryals; especially at a time, when that restless and perfidious nation breaks through the most solemn treaties, and transgresses the most essential duties of honour and justice. It would be the strangest thing in the world! I flatter myself that there is no foundation for what has been told me on this occasion. I request of you, nay, I insist on it, that none of you under any pretext whatsoever, have any correspondence with the Frenchman, or receive any of his emissaries, nor any visit from Canada, without my knowledge and approbation.

On this promise I give you this belt. I propose to call, immediately, your other brothers of the Six-nations to this present fire; I hope you will come hither along with them,

them. I shall pronounce a speech of his excellency general Braddock's, it is accompanied with presents for you, which the great king your father, has sent by this warrior.

After a few Instants of Consultation among themselves, Abraham, one of the Chiefs of the Upper Village, got up and spoke for the two.

Brother,

YOU have called us together, to acquaint us with the news which you have brought with you; and we have heard all you have said. We put off entering into a detail of all these affairs, till such time as the Six-nations shall be assembled here.

Gave a string of Wampum.

Brother, We return you thanks for that you have been pleased to wipe the tears off our eyes, and make our throats and this floor clean; We do the same by you with this string of Wampum.

They gave a string of Wampum.

Brother, To please you; we have met you at this place, and have with great attention, heard all you have said; we thank you for your friendly intimation; we are rejoiced to see you here once more; and we salute you with this string of Wampum.

They gave a string of Wampum.

Brother,

Brother, We have often represented to our father, the great king, that the tree might be raised up again. We are thoroughly pleased at our father's yielding to our request, and we thank him for it very sincerely. we have had the greatest satisfaction in hearing all you have said relating to this tree; we sincerely wish it may continue such as you have described it in your speech; and we are very grateful for all you have told us on this subject.

Brother, You have told us that the tree which serves us as a screen, is now replanted at this place. You have caused the shade of it to be brought from Albany; and you have rekindled here, the fire of council and friendship, which ought to be composed of good, and everlasting wood; so as it may be always very clear, and cast a comfortable and beneficial heat on all those that shall approach it as friends; while it burns and sparkles on those which are its common enemies. Our first fathers have kindled this first fire at Onondago, and have thence transported the small coals, in order to light another at Quider*; this fire has never burned clear, and it was going out. We feel great satisfaction at your kindling this fire here.

* This is Albany, in the Savage Language.

Brothers,

Brother, You have invited us all, and our brothers of the Six united-nations and their allies, to come and seat ourselves under the tree which you have spoke to us of; that we may there smoke our pipes at the fire of council, and labour jointly at preserving it. We make no doubt but they will feel much joy at seeing it planted here; having been all desirous to see it here. But we must postpone answering this article of your speech till such time as the nations shall be assembled all in a body.

Brother, We thank you for having cleaned out this chamber of council, and removed from hence, all that might prove offensive therein. You may assure yourself we shall do our utmost to correspond with your intentions, and to drive far away, whatever might tend to disturb our mutual harmony.

Brother, You have told us that you had been informed some persons among us, were going to see the French; and you put us in mind of their conduct towards our first fathers, which we remember perfectly well, for their bones are still to be seen; we know the Frenchman is false and deceitful: he has given us very fine words, and his letters were soft, but his heart was full of poison for us. You, brother, know our affairs as well as we do ourselves; and you know, the rest of the Six-nations are jealous of us; because we have used the Hatchet in the last war

war against the Frenchman. Shall we pass now for being false and deceitful? no. You may depend upon it, we shall not go to Canada upon any invitation of the Frenchman; for we are not enough their friends. Therefore you are not, brother, to give credit to all the reports which have been made you on this occasion.

Brother, Once more we thank you heartily for all you have told us. We have already urged the necessity of assembling here the Six-nations, in order to give you a positive answer: we thank you for the invitation you have given us to meet you here with the rest of our brothers. We shall not fail to wait for them.

The Mohawk Chief of the Upper Village (Aniés,) having desired a Conference with Colonel Johnson, in the presence of the Secretary for the affairs of the Savages, and the two Interpreters: Abraham, spoke in the name of this Chief and said,

Brother,

WHEN you were at New-York, you sent us word that you wished our chiefs and our warriors would remain on their Mats, and wait for your return here. We have done it; and why should we not, since, at all times, we have shewn ourselves ready to oblige you?
and

and we are the more disposed to do what you say, as you acquaint us that you are the Tree which has been replanted in order to give us shelter; and we make no doubt but our brothers of the five other nations are all disposed to obey you.

Brother, It is very true we have been always obedient, and always obliging to you; and when you intimated your desire to us, that we should remain in our Cabbins, our young men were ready to go out a hunting; but having been prevented by your order, from going, they now are in want of every thing for their subsistence. They have desired us, *Chiefs*, to lay their wants before you. They stand in need of every thing, as they have not been out, and they beg you would let them have some powder and shot, in order to kill some Game for their subsistence. And as it will be some time before the other five nations do arrive, and therefore, before the presents which the king our father sends us, are delivered to us: all we request is, that you give us, in the mean time, what is barely necessary for us:

Brother, As we foresee that the troublesome times are approaching, we renew to you the requests which we have so often made to the Government, for the building a Fortrefs for the security of our women and children; we hope you will be pleased to execute it at this time.

Colonel Johnson's Answer.

Brothers,

I Am thoroughly convinced of your good dispositions towards me, and your compliance at all times in listening to my word, and doing what I require of you. This is what has induced me to take upon me the detail of your affairs. The fresh testimony which you give me of your friendship, and your regard for me, will enable me to promote your interest much to your advantage, and my own satisfaction.

I am well persuaded I have done you a great prejudice, as well as to your young people, in having detained them at this time, at home. Therefore I grant you readily, what you ask me; and I will give you some powder and balls.

Before I left New-York I represented to your brother, the governor, the necessity of building a fortress where you might safely retire to with your families; and I, with pleasure, acquaint you, that he has given me a full power to do it: and I shall give orders for the setting about it as soon as possible.

Signed

May 17, 1755.

JOHNSON.

A Letter from M. Johnson to M. Arent Steevens, Interpreter for the Province.

S I R,

IN consequence of the Instructions, which his majesty has given his excellency general Braddock, he has entrusted me with the sole super-intendence, and the management of all the affairs that relate to the six United nations and their allies. You are therefore, to be attentive to follow the orders which you shall receive from me, in respect to this business.

I send you this letter by James Clement, with two belts of Wampum, both the one and the other for the five nations above: you are to deliver them in my name; and assure them, that the troops which are in march, and those which may hereafter march for Chouaguen, are destined to reinforce that garrison, and to secure it against the acts of hostility of the Frenchman, who has declared that it belonged neither to us, nor to the Six-nations; and that he would demolish it.

I have sent a message with a string of Wampum immediately upon my arrival; but in case that should not have been sufficient; I at present send this belt. If you find that the

Five-nations are uneasy, or alarmed at the march of these troops through their country, whether this should proceed from their jealousy, or the deceitful insinuations of the French emissaries: you are to assure them, in my name, that they are designed for the security and advantage of the Six-nations and their allies. You are to exhort them not to hearken to any lyes which the French may make use of on this occasion; whose desire and intention are to fall upon us and them while we are asleep, in order to cut off both us and them from the face of the earth: and they well know that the easiest way to succeed, is to disturb and destroy the brotherly love and confidence which has so long, and so happily subsisted between us. You will make use of these or other like arguments, as the circumstances may require.

The other belt, which I send you, is to acquaint them with the commission I have from the great king, their father, which has been granted at their repeated instances; and also, that pursuant to general Braddock's orders, by this belt, I invite and call upon the Six United-nations to repair with their allies, to my house; where I have kindled the fire of council and friendship, and replanted the tree which shall cover with its shade both them and all those who will shelter themselves under it; that I have a present

to make them in the name of the great king, their father, a great deal of good news to tell them; and am to hold a council upon a great many affairs of the last consequence, and which concern their happiness and welfare. If you find that there are any practices made use of by the French emissaries in order to prevent them from meeting me; you are to employ the best arguments, and those you shall judge most proper, in order to dissipate these impressions: and you are to insist on their obedience, and the condescensions they owe us. If they should say that they are planting their corn, and that should they come now, they must lose their harvest and want provisions; You are to assure them that I shall take care of them, and that I shall indemnify them for the loss which they shall sustain on this occasion: but you are to act prudently in this respect, and be cautious how you promise.

I have had an interview with the two *Anies* villages concerning these two belts: they have been satisfied, and have promised to join me here when the other nations come down; which is what you are to urge as much as possible.

I have sent you by M. Clement, some goods to make use of, if you should have occasion: and when you have conducted the
the

the Indians to the German Flatts, you will find provisions at my house; of which I beg you will keep an account.

Signed

William Johnson.

‘ A true copy of what has been done by the honourable William Johnson Esq; &c. and Peter Warpall, Secretary for the Indian affairs.’

I the under-written, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, certify the having translated, &c.

N U M B.

N U M B E R X V .

*A Lettter written by Mr. William Johnson,
to several Governors, relating to the Ex-
pedition against the Fort of Crown-Point.*

New-York, May 15, 1755.

B E I N G appointed commander in chief,
of the forces of the colonies for the
intended expedition of Crown-Point; I think
it incumbent upon me to remove, to the best of
my power, all the difficulties which may oc-
curr in the service, and obstruct the success of
this undertaking. As a train of artillery is essen-
tially necessary, that nothing can be done
without it, and as it is to be supplied by the
eastern colonies; I make no doubt but you
will do your utmost to accelerate every thing
relating to this article, in order that our
march may not be retarded, and that we
may not spend more time than is necessary,
at Albany; which might confirm "the ene-
my's suspicion of an attack, if unfortunately,
they should have notice of it." I fear greatly
I shall want proper persons to conduct a train
of artillery. Therefore if you have in your
government any persons that are capable of
being made engineers or bombardiers, or any
other

other that is capable of conducting a train of artillery, I beg you will take them into the service, according to your knowledge of their capacity. You must know that we stand in need of a great number of battoes, in order to the transporting our troops; besides those that are necessary for the train of artillery, stores and baggage. Each battoe must carry five hundred men. We have already those which are to be supplied by this government. As I believe the other colonies must cause those which they shall supply, to be built here or at Jersey; I take the construction of a sufficient number of them in time, to be impossible, unless they will send workmen to our assistance.

I am, Sir, &c.

Signed

William Johnson.

I the under-written, counsellor in the superior council of Quebec, certify, the having translated &c.

N U M B.

N U M B E R X V I .

PROCLAMATION, *addressed by the Order of M. Lawrence, Governor of Acadia, to the French inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Isthmus, and the Banks of St. John's River.*

In the KING's Name.

By Order of his Excellency Charles Lawrence,
Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor, and Com-
mander in Chief of the Province of Nova-
Scotia or Acadia, &c.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Inhabitants and all others, Natives of Chignecto, Baie-Verte, Tintamar, Chepoudi, St. John's River, and their Appurtenances and adjacent Parts and all others, who have not yet made their Submissions.

WHEREAS most part of the inhabitants of the above, and other places, have not yet made their Submission to the

King of Great-Britain *; but on the contrary, have demeaned themselves, contrary to all orders and loyalty to their proper Sovereign.

T H E R E F O R E .

THIS is to command them to repair immediately to my Camp, in order to make their Submissions; bringing along with them, all their fire-arms, swords, sabres, pistols, and all other instruments of war: in disobedience of which, they shall be treated, as Rebels, with military execution.

Given at the Camp of Chignecto, this thirteenth Day of May, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed

Robert Monkton.

* This Confession is remarkable. How came the insisting upon this Submission not to be thought of since the Peace of Utrecht?

V O U C H E R S .

V O U C H E R S.

SECOND PART,

N U M B E R I.

A Memorial, delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix, to Sir Thomas Robinson. January 15, 1755.

AS, preventing, speedily the consequences that may result from the discussions which have happened in North-America, and the hostilities, with which they have been attended; is a matter of importance; the King proposes to his Britannic Majesty that, previous to examining into the grounds and circumstances of the Quarrel, positive orders be sent to the respective Governors, forbidding henceforward, all new enterprises or acts of violence.

Commanding them, on the contrary, to restore matters, without delay, with regard to the Territories towards the Ohio or Fair-River; to the same situation they were in, or ought to have been in, before the last war. The King further proposes, that the respective pretensions be amicably referred to the commissioners sitting in Paris; so as the two Courts may put an end to the difference, by a speedy conciliation.

The king could also wish, in order to remove all impressions of uneasiness, and to make his subjects enjoy in tranquillity, the sweet fruits of peace, that his Britannic Majesty, would please to explain himself openly with regard to the destination, and the motives of the armament which has been lately made in England.

The king has too great a reliance on the uprightness of his Britannic Majesty's intentions, as to flatter himself with the hopes, that he will readily close with propositions, that are so agreeable to the preservation of peace, and to the maintaining the public tranquillity, and a good harmony between both our Courts.

Signed

Le Duc de Mirepoix.

N U M B E R II.

Answer, delivered by order of the Court of England, to the Duke de Mirepoix. January 22, 1755.

THE King has seen, with Regret, the disputes that have happened in North-America, and the acts of violence with which they have been attended. His Majesty is as desirous

desirous as his most Christian Majesty, to put an end to them. He claims nothing, but what is grounded on Treaties, and what is conformable to the just rights and possessions of his crown, and the protection of his subjects in that country.

The King does not think the propositions given in by his excellency the duke de Mirepoix, answers this end: however, as a testimony of his desire to maintain peace, and the most perfect union and harmony with his most Christian Majesty, and that all things may be re-established on an equitable footing; His Majesty proposes, that the possession of the territory towards the river Ohio or Fair-river, be restored to the same situation it was actually in, at the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, and agreeable to the stipulations of the same treaty, renewed as it has been, by that of Aix la Chapelle: and, moreover, that the other possessions in North-America, be restored to the same state they were in, at the time of concluding the said treaty of Utrecht, and pursuant to the cessions and the stipulations made by that treaty. The means of instructing the respective governors, and forbidding henceforward all new encroachments, or acts of violence, may be afterwards settled, and the pretensions on both sides referred, to be speedily and finally discussed and adjusted, in an amicable manner, between both courts.

Such

Such are the King's sentiments. The defence of his rights and possessions, and the protection of his subjects, have been the motives of the armament that has been sent to North-America; which "has been effected, without any intention of offending any power whatsoever, or doing any thing that may disturb * the general peace." We need only to consider the nature and extent of this armament to be convinced of this truth; and the King makes no doubt but his most Christian Majesty will, agreeable to the known uprightness of his intentions, explain himself also openly, with regard to the great naval force preparing at Brest and Toulon.

Signed

Thomas Robinson.

N U M B E R III.

A Reply to Sir Thomas Robinson's Memorial, and given in by the Duke de Mirepoix. February 6, 1755.

THE King is too well persuaded of the sincere dispositions of the King of Great-Britain, to maintain a good under-

* This Formal Declaration, may be compared to the Instructions given by his Britannic Majesty to General Braddock, and the plan contained in Colonel Nappier's Letter.

standing

standing between the two crowns, together with the general tranquillity ; to entertain any doubt but that his Britannic Majesty sees, with sorrow, the dangers with which both are threatened, by the differences which have taken rise in North-America, towards the river Ohio.

It was in this light, that his Majesty caused it to be proposed by his ambassador at the court of London ; that the two kings, (previous to the entering into any discussion relative to the grounds of the quarrel, and examining the means which may put an end to them, in an amicable manner) should send positive orders to their respective governors in this part of America ; that “ they would refrain from all acts of violence, and all new enterprises ; ” and put things in the same situation they were, or ought to have been in, before the late war.

Though his Britannic Majesty might have, on the first aspect, judged, that this proposition did not fully answer the end of both courts ; yet we are persuaded that he will think otherwise, when he pleases to consider that his pretensions, are utterly unknown to France : that since 1679, when the French discovered the Fair-river, the English never had any footing there, either directly or indirectly ; and that the treaty of Utrecht, of whose stipulations the court of England seems to avail itself, has not even made the least mention thereof. The way, which is
proposed

proposed to his Britannic Majesty, is thoroughly conformable to the engagements of the treaty of Aix la Chappelle; to the measures taken since that *Æra*, and, in particular, to the conditions demanded in 1750, and 1751 by England herself, and assented to, without difficulty, by his Majesty, relative to the troubles which then arose concerning the limits of the frontier of Nova-Scotia and Canada.

In consequence of these reasons, and these engagements, his Majesty proposes.

1. That the two Kings do order their respective governors to forbear all acts of violence, and all new attempts.

2. To put things in the same condition that they have been in, before the late war, over all North-America, agreeable to the IXth article of the treaty of Aix la Chappelle.

3. That conformable to the XVIIth article of the same treaty, his Britannic Majesty do give directions, that the commissioners sitting in Paris, be instructed with regard to his pretensions and the foundation on which they are grounded.

And that the ministers of the two courts be authorised to negotiate, in order to find out the means of putting, amicably, an end to the difference.

The King proposes these conditions to the King of England, with that confidence which the justice and reasonableness of them must inspire. There

There is so much the more room for his Majesty to hope that they will be accepted, as he is persuaded his Britannic Majesty is animated with the same spirit with which himself is actuated; towards removing all subjects of mis-undoing and confusion, which, by the opposition of interests, complication of objects, and the nature of the engagements and treaties may become as dangerous to the peace of the two crowns, as to that of all Europe.

Asto the armament which the king prepares, the court of England may easily penetrate into the motives of it; since it is the armament with which themselves have apprised all Europe of, and have in part executed, that have rendered the precautions of France necessary. But his Majesty declares expressly, " that these preparations have no offensive view, * and no other object than the defence of his possessions, and the rights of his crown.

N U M B E R IV.

Project of a Preliminary Convention, proposed by the King's Orders, to the Court of London.

THE Discussions which have started up, since the peace signed at Aix la Chappelle,

* The two Kings have, we see, made the same Declaration. We leave Europe to judge, which of the two spoke sincerely.

the 18th of October 1748, between the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, and those of his Britannic Majesty, in North America, having given occasion, on both sides, to acts of violence; to put a stop to, and prevent the consequences of which, is become a matter of extreme importance; their Majesties animated with a common desire of re-establishing tranquillity in this part of the new world, and to cement, more and more, the friendship and good understanding, which happily subsist between them, have resolved to take, in concert, the speediest and most effectual methods, in order to attain the salutary end which they propose to themselves: they have, accordingly, authorised the under-written ministers, who are provided with the full powers necessary for this purpose, to settle the preliminary and provisional conditions contained in the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

HIS most Christian Majesty, and his Britannic Majesty engage to send, immediately after the Ratifications of the present Convention, the most precise orders to their respective Governors in America, to cause all acts of violence to cease, between the two nations; and the duplicate of these orders shall be delivered, on each side, together with the ratifications of the present convention

vention, to the respective ministers of his most Christian Majesty, and his Britannic Majesty.

II.

The Subjects of his most Christian Majesty, and of his Britannic Majesty, shall evacuate all the country, situated between the river Ohio and the mountains which form the limits of Virginia: and shall withdraw, that is to say, the French beyond the said river, and the English to this side of the said mountains; so that all the extent of ground which lies between the said river and said mountains, shall be considered as a neutral country, during the whole time that this convention shall subsist; and all the concessions, if there should be any such made by either side, on the said territory, shall be considered as null, and of none effect.

III.

For the better ensuring the execution of the first article of the present convention; and to prevent all occasion of fresh troubles, the respective subjects of his most Christian Majesty, and his Britanic Majesty, shall not be allowed to frequent, so long as this present convention shall stand, the said territory, situated between the river Ohio and the said

mountains, under any pretence of trade or passage, which the two nations shall be equally forbidden during the same space of time.

IV.

Conformable to article IX of the treaty of Aix la Chappelle, all things shall be reinstated in North America, on the same footing they were, or ought to have been on, since the treaty of Utrecht; and accordingly, all the forts shall be demolished, which, since that epoch, may have been built on either side, as well on the said territory of the Ohio, as in all other parts of North America, which are a subject of dispute between the two nations.

V.

The present preliminary convention is to take place only during two years, to be computed from the day of exchanging the ratifications; this space of time appearing sufficient to determine finally, by way of an amicable conciliation, all the discussions relative to North America, which hereafter may give occasion to any new broils between the subjects of the two powers.

VI.

VI.

His most Christian Majesty, and his Britannic Majesty, engage themselves to give immediately, not only to their respective Ministers in London, but also to their commissaries in Paris, the instructions and orders necessary to determinè amicably, as soon as possible, and at farthest in the space of two Years, by a definitive treaty, all the differences which have started up between the subjects of both crowns; relative to their possessions, rights, and pretensions in North-America:

VII.

The present convention shall be ratified by their most Christian, and Britannic Majesties; and the ratifications, in good and due form, shall be exchanged in the city of London, in the space of twelve days, or sooner if possible, from the day of signing this present covention. In witness whereof, &c.

N U M B.

NUMBER V.

Counter-project of a preliminary convention, in answer to the foregoing project, and delivered to the Duke de Mirepoix the 7th of March 1755.

THE discussions which have (since the peace signed at Aix la Chapelle) happened in North America, between the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and of his most Christian majesty, having given occasion, on each side, contrary to the intention of their majesties, to acts of violence, the preventing the consequences of which, is of the last importance; their majesties, animated with a common desire of re-establishing quiet in that country, and cementing more, and more, the friendship and good understanding which happily subsist between them, have resolved to take, in concert, the speediest and most effectual methods, to attain the salutary end which they propose to themselves. They have accordingly authorised the underwritten ministers, who are provided with the necessary full powers for this purpose, to settle the preliminary and provisional conditions contained in the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

His Britannic majesty and his Most Christian majesty engage to send, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this present convention, the most precise orders to their respective generals and governors in America to put a stop to, and prevent all acts of violence between both nations; and the duplicates of these orders shall be delivered on each side, together with the ratifications of the present convention, to the ministers, as well of his Britannic majesty, as his Most Christian majesty.

II.

In respect to the river Ohio and the adjacent lands, it is covenanted and agreed, that like orders shall be sent at the same time, along with copies of the present convention, to the said governors and generals, to cause all the forts that have been constructed on the Presqu-Isle, in lake Erie, and on Ox-river, and on the Ohio, to be demolished in the space of six months, or sooner if possible; reckoning from the day of signing the present convention.

In like manner it is agreed, between his Britannic majesty and his Most Christian majesty, that a line, beginning on the eastern
side

side of the Bay of Canagahouqui, on the southern bank of lake Erie, shall be drawn directly to the south until you come to the 40th degree of North latitude, and from thence continued to the south-west until it falls in with the 37th degree of the said latitude.

In like manner, a line beginning at the mouth of the river Miamis, on the south side of lake Erie, shall be drawn towards the south or south-west, to the source of the river Wabache or of St. Jerom, and thence continued along the river to the place where it discharges itself into the Ohio; and from thence, in a straight line, towards the south to the above-mentioned 37th degree of north latitude.

All the forts and fortresses that have been built, or the settlements that have been made by either the one or the other of the two crowns, or by their respective subjects, on the said territory, situated between the two lines, shall be demolished in the abovesaid space of six months; reckoning from the day that the present convention shall be signed, or sooner if possible; and shall so remain demolished until such time as the present disputes between both crowns are amicably ended: so that all the country, lying between the two abovesaid lines, in its whole extent from north to south, shall remain and be considered during that time as a neutral country; and no farther use shall be made of it than to carry on a trade with the natives, which shall be free and

and allowed to both nations, without any hindrance or molestation whatsoever.

That the respective generals and governors of the two crowns, shall name in the space of three months, reckoning from the day of signing the present convention or sooner if possible, understanding persons, who shall draw out and mark the said lines, in the space of three months more reckoning from the day of their being appointed for this purpose.

III.

It is moreover agreed, that the forts on the river Niagara, and fort Frederic or Crown Point, on lake Champlain, built since the treaty of Utrecht renewed and confirmed by that of Aix la Chappelle, shall be demolished in the same space of six months, reckoning from the day of signing the present convention; and that as to what relates to the abovesaid river of Niagara, and the lakes of Erie, Ontario, and Champlain, it shall be free for the subjects of both crowns to pass, ascend and descend them with all safety, and to trade, without any hindrance or molestation, with the Indians inhabiting the countries situated round the great lakes, as well with those who are the subjects and friends of Great Britain as subjects and friends of France.

IV.

It is in like mannner, covenanted and agreed, that a line shall be drawn from the mouth of the river Penobscot or Pentagoet, to its source, and from thence in a straight line northwards to the river St. Lawrence; and that from a point which shall be found at the distance of twenty leagues in a straight line, from the mouth of the river Penobscot or Pentagoet, a line shall be drawn across the continent, to the point which shall be on the banks of the river St. Lawrence, to the distance of twenty leagues from cape Tourmentin, in a direct line.

That as to what relates to the countries and territories situated to the North, between both these lines, to the river St. Lawrence, they shall not be settled nor possessed by the subjects of either crowns, who shall not be allowed to make any farther use of them, than to carry on a trade there.

That all the Presqu-Isle and the Isthmus, together with the Bay of Fundi or Baie Francoise, and in general all the lands, rivers and coasts, situated on the south-east of the abovementioned line, which is to be drawn across the said continent, from the river Penobscot or Pentagoet, to the gulph of St. Lawrence, shall be acknowledged and declared to belong, in all sovereignty, and
absolute

absolute propriety, to the crown of Great Britain.

Moreover, it is covenanted and agreed, that the respective generals and governors, shall name understanding persons, in the space of three months, reckoning from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner if possible, who shall draw and mark out the said lines in the space of three months, reckoning from the day of their being appointed for this purpose.

V.

His Britannic majesty, and his most Christian majesty, engage to give without delay, after the ratification of the present convention, the necessary instructions and orders to their respective ministers, to enable them to determine (between both courts by way of an amicable conciliation) as soon as possible, by a definitive treaty, all the differences which have arose between the subjects of both crowns, relative to their respective possessions, rights and pretensions in America; and which are not finally determined by the present convention.

VI.

The present convention shall be ratified by their Britannic and most Christian majesties,

N n 2

and

and the ratifications in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of London, in the space of fifteen days or sooner, if possible, reckoning from the day of signing the present convention. In witness whereof, &c.

NUMBER. VI.

Extract of a letter written by M. Rouille to the Duke De Mirepoix, March 27, 1755.

IN order to attain the so desirable end of peace, one must necessarily weigh the nature and the circumstances of the engagements which are to be contracted, and combine the reciprocal rights and conveniences. A work of this importance will require much application and time; and what use shall one make in the mean while of the armaments which have been prepared on both sides? how will it be possible to negotiate with any advantage, if acts of violence continue in North America, and if they begin on the high seas? Will not the advantages gained by the one side and the other, be a motive for multiplying pretensions and difficulties, and become fresh obstacles to a pacification? This inconvenience should therefore be prevented; and that cannot be, unless by giving to the respective governors in America, and to the commanders of the squadrons, such uniform orders as fix invariably their operations to a bare

bare defensive, and forbid them absolutely all acts of offensive hostility, under any pretext whatsoever.

The King will make no difficulty in communicating to the King of England the duplicates of the orders and instructions which his majesty shall give to his governors and commanders, if his Britannic majesty pleases to act towards the king with the same candour and confidence. What we propose in this respect is so consistent with all the rules of equity and moderation, that we cannot conceive it possible for people to refuse their concurrence therein, if peace is as sincerely wished for in London as it is at Versailles.

The reputation of both courts demands even this precaution, since it were exposing ourselves to suspicions and reproaches of the want of faith and duplicity in our proceedings, if while a negociation was carrying on in order to bring about a pacification, we should authorise, or even appear to tolerate hostilities, which would contradict evidently all ideas of a reconciliation.

I have already mentioned it to you, and as truth is always the same, I shall always hold the same language to desire peace sincerely, and not to put a stop to acts of violence, are two things incompatible.

NUMBER VII.

*Answer delivered by the court of London to
the Duke de Mirepoix, April 5, 1755.*

THE court of London will concur with all the eagerness possible, in concluding a definitive agreement which shall take in all the parts that are a subject of contest in America, between the two nations, which his Excellency the duke de Mirepoix has insinuated to coincide with the dispositions of his court.

The proposal made by the court of France by the extract of M. Rouille's letter written the 27th of March to his excellency the duke de Mirepoix, is the same that has been made heretofore, and has only a cessation of arms between both nations for its object.

The court of London meets in this with the same difficulties which have offered themselves to them from the beginning of the negotiation, and cannot look upon it as a means that can favour a conciliation.

In the counter-project which the court of London gave, in answer to the plan of convention proposed heretofore by France, it exposed nothing but what appeared to belong by right, and according to treaties to the crown of Great Britain.

This court has even consented to depart from this right in many respects, for the sake
of

of peace, and to shew its sincere desire to cultivate the most perfect friendship with the court of France. It is for this reason that the court of London did hope, from the confessed candour of his most Christian majesty, that his ambassador would have instructions, and be authorised to deliver specifically the objections which the court of France might have made to this counter-project, and lay open, in an amicable manner, the demands of his court; which should seem to be the most natural way, the most regular and the most conformable to the wishes which the court of London entertains in common with that of Versailles, to procure, by means of the negotiation already agreed on (a), a speedy and definitive reconciliation in regard to all the points which have been the subject of discussion between both nations in America.

NUMBER VIII.

Extract of a letter from M. Rouille to the Duke de Mirepoix, dated April 13, 1755, and delivered to the ministry of London.

THE King, to whom I gave an account of the desire which his Britannic majesty

(a) Since it was agreed to negotiate, how came England, even during this time, to give orders for attacking the French in America? Why did it in Europe refuse to give orders for the ceasing of all hostilities?

has

has expressed to receive a speedy answer to the memorial given you by the Chevalier Robison, has ordered me to send you back your courier without delay.

The King would fain carry his complaisance still farther, but the propositions of the court of London do not allow his majesty to hope that the two courts will succeed in ending their differences by a just and becoming conciliation.

According to the court of London, the success of our negotiation depends entirely on the cession which the English demand, not only of the Presqu isle, of which Acadia is but a part, but also of twenty leagues of the coast of Bay Francoise on the side of Canada.

This proposition, especially as to what relates to the twenty leagues of coast, is so diametrically opposite to our rights, our possessions, and to our most essential concerns, that we cannot possibly allow it.

If this cession would be necessary, or even useful to the English, either in their trade with the savages, or their communication with Acadia and New England, we could ascribe the demand which they make us of it to one of these two motives only; but their pretension cannot be grounded on any reason, or any pretext of necessity or utility.

The savages have always had a liberty to trade in the English colonies, in the same manner as in the French, and twenty leagues
more

more will make no alteration in the state of affairs in this respect.

As to the communication between Acadia and New England, it is absolutely impracticable by land, not only on account of the distance, but likewise the extreme difficulty of the roads and passing the rivers which must be crossed towards their mouth. This communication is on the contrary very short and very easy by sea.

To this the King cannot, or ought not to consent, because the lands situated along Baie Francoise on the side of Canada, is indispensably necessary for the communication of Quebec, during part of the year; as well with Europe as the Isle Royal and St. Johns.

The court of London proposes, with regard to the part of Canada situated above Quebec and Montreal, that the river St. Laurence and the lakes Erie and Ontario serve as limits between the two nations.

It is on the fixation of these limits that messieurs the English ministers pretend also to lay the foundation of the negociation.

The King, is so far from entering into any explanation on this article, that he never will consent to his sovereignty over the southern bank of the river St. Laurence and the lakes of Ontario and Erie to be brought in question, or that these parts, which have been always considered as the center, should now become the limits of Canada.

The preservation of that part of Canada, which should remain to us after this separation, would become, by this pretension of England, very chargeable if not impossible.

It does not appear that the court of London is willing to consent to our making settlements between the Ohio and Wasbach rivers, unless possibly at the distance of some leagues on this side the left bank of this last river.

We have offered to abandon the land between the mountains of Virginia and the Ohio, and to suffer it to remain neutral; but we can grant nothing more, without giving up our communication between Louisiana, and Canada.

We differ in too essential a manner, in our interests and views, with regard to the capital points, which the English ministers look upon as the necessary basis of a negociation.

The court of London, in the memorial which has been delivered to you, expresses its hope, that you have received proper instructions, and are authorised to give in, specifically, the objections which the court of France, might have made to the counter-project, and open yourself amicably on this subject.

The reasons which have determined the King not to give an answer in writing to the counter-project in question, subsist always the same; since all that the English ministers have said to you, since their delivering this
piece

piece to you, differs scarcely in any thing from what it contains.

Their last propositions have only served to illustrate what could not be expressed in so clear a manner in the counter-project.

If the King of England and his ministry are as sincere in their desire of peace as we are, they must desist in a formal manner from their pretension of making us abandon,

1. The southern coast of the river St. Laurence, and the lakes whose waters discharge themselves into this river.

2. The twenty leagues of Country which they demand on Baye Francoise.

3. The territory between the Ohio and Wabach.

We are disposed to enter into a negociation upon all the remainder, and even to sacrifice part of our rights to all the conveniencies of England, wherever it may be consistent with the dignity of the King and the security of his possessions.

We will gladly take in concert with the Brittish ministers, the most effectual measures to guard both nations in America against all invasion of property, and prevent any dispute between them.

In short, we will not be averse from making, in concert with them, such arrangements as may facilitate and augment their trade; but we shall enter into no particulars on this subject, so long as the court of London shall look

upon the three articles, which we are absolutely determined not to allow of, as a necessary and preliminary basis of the negotiation.

At first there was question only of the territory of the fair river, but now their pretensions extend to all the parts of Canada, which lie on the southern side of the river St. Lawrence.

It was agreed to adhere to a provisional accommodation, while a definitive treaty should be laboured at afterwards, they would have no provisional convention, and they pretended to determine every thing at once.

We have proposed the preventing any ulterior acts of violence, by giving orders for that purpose to the respective governors, and to the commanders of the squadrons; they have rejected a proposal so reputable and so full of moderation,

N U M B E R IX.

Note delivered by the court of London to the Duke de Mirepoix, April 24, 1755.

THE court of Great Britain sees, with regret, that the friendly answer delivered to his excellency M. de Mirepoix the 5th of this month, in consequence of a letter of M. de Rouille of the 27th of last month, has not been productive of such instructions from his court as might have enabled him to enter

enter immediately on a negociation concerning the different points contained in the counter-project which had been delivered him so early as the 7th of March ; but that on the contrary, M. de Rouille declares, in the extract of his letter of the 13th of this month, which has been communicated to Sir Thomas Robinson by the ambassador of France, that France desires the British court would, previous to any negociation, desist formally from its pretension, and to make it abandon,

1. The southern coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes whose waters are received into that river.

2. The twenty leagues of country which they demand on Bay Francoise.

3. The territory between the Ohio and Wabache.

As to the first of these points M. de Rouille has made it out in a very short manner, and very different from what it was intended to be understood by the above-mentioned counter-project (*a*) ; but with regard to this point as well as the others, the British court refers itself, and adheres to the exposition made of it, as being founded on the treaties and appearing absolutely necessary to its security.

(*a*) It may be observed with what attention the British ministry feigned not to comprehend well enough the ideas of the court of France. All that was apprehended in England was, lest the negociation should break off before the execution of the plan of invasion.

They

They are, however, disposed to enter into an examination of all the contested points. In the course of this examination it may be found out in what the most essential differences between the two courts consist, and the natural desire of peace may strike out the means of facilitating an accommodation.

NUMBER X.

Note, delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix the 6th of May 1755, in answer to the foregoing.

THE court of France is invariable in its principles of equity and moderation. It always wishes very sincerely the preservation of peace and the most perfect understanding between it and the British court, if the Duke de Mirepoix has not been authorised to enter into a negotiation upon the three following points.

1. The southern coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes whose waters fall into this river.
2. The twenty leagues of country along Bay Francoise.
3. The territory between the Ohio and the Wabache.

It was solely because the adhesion to the demands of the British court, with respect to these three points, has been always presented

to

to the court of France as a necessary basis, and the preliminary conditions of the negociation.

It was in this sense that the court of France has demanded, and continues to demand, that the British court do desist from its pretensions relative to these three subjects; but the court of France is disposed, as it has always been, to acquiesce, agreeable to the XVIIIth article of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in the examination and amicable discussion of all the points in dispute, and in taking in concert with the British court the arrangements which shall be judged necessary, to put an end to all differences between the two nations, and settling affairs in America on a footing that is agreeable to the tranquillity and security of the respective colonies, as well for the present as hereafter: the court of France is very far from forming any demand that is not founded on a real right and the treaties; and as the British court declares to be animated with the same sentiments, there is room to hope that the intentions so equitable and so full of moderation on both sides, will be attended with the salutary effect which the two courts ought to promise themselves from them, toward their common tranquillity; and the public happiness.

N U M B E R X I .

Note, delivered by the British ministry to the Duke de Mirepoix the 9th of May 1755.

THE court of Great Britain fees, with the greatest satisfaction, by the answer which his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix has delivered to Sir Thomas Robinson the 6th of this month, not only that the court of France persists in its resolution for maintaining the peace, but likewise that its dispositions are the same that those of England have always been, and are still, to enter without delay into the examination, and into an amicable discussion of all the points in dispute.

The court of Great Britain has, during the course of the negociation, proceeded with so much candour (a) and confidence, that they did not hesitate to expose naturally their intentions and pretensions; in order that the court of France by acting in the same manner, might facilitate and hasten the conciliation so much wished for on each side.

(a) The value to be set on this word may be easily estimated, by whoever has read the above pieces.

NUMBER XII.

Memorial, *delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix,
to the Ministry of London, May 14, 1755.*

THE Disputes between the courts of France and England, concerning America, have for subject, 1. the limits of Acadia. 2. the limits of Canada. 3. the course of the river Ohio and its territory. 4. the Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago.

In the discussion of these points, the general principles to be laid down for the negotiation are those, and those only of justice, the security of the respective colonies, and their mutual conveniences.

In all the particular discussions concerning the four objects in question, these principles are never to be lost sight of. Therefore we shall here treat of these objects in a summary manner, one after another.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Limits of Acadia.

IF we examine into what is right and just, we shall find, that Acadia takes in only a part of the Peninsula where it is situated, which part extends from Cape Fourchu or

Cape Sable, to Cape Canceau. This has been evidently made out by the Memorial of the French commissaries dated October 4. 1751. the answer given to it by the English commissaries does not invalidate the facts, nor the proofs which it contains. It ought, therefore, to be laid down as a basis of the negociation, that Acadia takes in only a part of the Penninsula.

But the court of France for the sake of peace, will condescend, after having discussed and ascertained its right, to the not insisting on it with rigour, and will agree to examine into what may concern the object in question, and the reciprocal security and convenience of both. It may possibly also determine to yield to the English, the intire Penninsula, under certain conditions and reservations, without which it neither ought, nor can agree to this cession. These conditions shall be

1. That during the space of three years, all the French who inhabit the Penninsula, may have liberty to withdraw from thence with their effects, and that all manner of assistance be given them for facilitating this transmigration, which the English, doubtless, will consider as very advantageous for themselves.

2. That France shall keep the Isthmus and Beaubassin, since she cannot absolutely abandon them without giving up at the same time, at least, during a considerable part of the

the year, the communication between Quebec and the Isle-Royale.

3. That a certain extent of land in the Peninsula, which shall be agreed on, shall be left uninhabited along the coast which bears on the gulph of St. Lawrence. This proposal is not less favourable to the English of Acadia, than it is to the French of Isle-Royal, and of St. John, since thick woods and defiles, which must be crossed, will be an obstacle equally to the enterprises which either of the nations would form against the other.

4. That the English shall desist from the demand which they have made of an extent of twenty leagues along Bay Francoise on the side of Canada. They having absolutely, no sort of right to, nor have they any real interest in demanding this cession, which is in no way necessary to their commerce, and is of no sort of use to their communication between Acadia and New England; whereas on the contrary, this territory is indispensibly necessary to the French for their communication with Quebec, when it becomes impracticable by the river St. Lawrence.

The court of France as a further proof of its complaisance for England, and of its desire to keep up with it, the most perfect understanding, may also, if it should meet with sentiments that are reciprocal on the part of the court of London, yield to the Eng-

lish the country lying between the river of Sagahadoe and that of Pentagoet.

It is proved by the very title deeds of the English, and namely, the charter concerning New England, of the 7th of October, 1695, that the limits of this province extend only to Sagahadoe. The cession of the considerable territory which lies between this river and that of Pentagoet would answer, nay, would exceed any reasonable demands which the English might propose to themselves.

From what has been here said it results, that France, to preserve peace, offers to sacrifice her right, her actual possession, and an interest that is evident and sensible; but she will not extend this sacrifice beyond the cession of the Penninsula of Acadia, with the conditions and clauses, of which mention has been made, and the part on the continent side, which extends from Sagahadoe to Pentagoet.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE II.

Concerning the Limits of Canada.

THE Court of France has, in a decisive manner rejected, and will always reject the proposition which has been made by England; that the southern coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes Ontario and Erie, should serve as limits between the two nations.

It must be laid down as a basis for the negociation in regard to this article, that the river St. Lawrence is the centre of Canada. This truth is justified by just titles, by eminent writers, and by possession.

All that France can agree to, after laying down this principle, which cannot admit of any reasonable contradiction, is to examine, in regard to this object, whether the reciprocal convenience of both nations may not require in this respect some particular arrangement in order to the fixing invariably, the respective limits.

The only pretext with which the English endeavour to gloss over their pretensions, is taken from article XV of the treaty of Utrecht; but if all the expressions contained in this article are examined into with due attention,

attention, it will evidently appear, that nothing is less founded than the inductions which the court of London would in fact, draw from thence.

1. There is question in this article only of the persons of the Savages, and not at all of their country, or pretended territory ; because they have none that is determined, and that they carry their notion of propriety no farther than the actual use they make of the country which they occupy to-day, and which they possibly may not occupy to-morrow.

2. It were absurd to pretend that wherever a Savage who is a friend or a subject of one of the two crowns makes a transient residence. The country which he had then inhabited, should belong to the crown whose friend or subject he is.

3. The Savages here meant, are free and independent, and there are none of them who may be called subjects of either crowns : what appears on the face of the treaty of Utrecht in regard to this, is faulty, and can make no alteration in the nature of things. It is certain, that no Englishman dare, without running the risque of being massacred, tell the Iroquois, that they are subjects of England : these Savage nations are governed by themselves, and are as much, and more the friends of France than of England ; several French families are intermarried even among the Iroquois, and have dwelt among them
all

all the last war, during which, the five nations have observed the most strict neutrality.

4. The XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht contains the same stipulations, as well in favour of the French, as in favour of the English, and these stipulations are mutual. The French might therefore say, with a better title than the English can urge in support of their claim to the Iroquois, that the Abnaqui nations, and the Souriquois, otherwise called Micmacs, Malcutes and Cannibas, &c. are the subjects of France; and as there are Souriquois who inhabit the extremity of the Penninsula on the side of cape Fourchu and of cape Sable; it would follow that the French might pretend to form settlements at that place, with as much right as the English have had in making settlements at Oswego, or Chouaguen, on the banks of lake Ontario, in 1726 or 1727; and of course a long time after the peace of Utrecht; France has not ceased since that time, to complain against this encroachment, and she expects that the fort of Chouaguen shall be destroyed.

The treaty of Utrecht was not rightly interpreted, when it was pretended, that it authorised the French and English to drive a trade promiscuously, among all the Savage nations, on pretence of subjection, alliance or friendship. This article, if well understood

stood and explained, provides only for the liberty of trade, which the Savages may carry on among themselves, or among the European nations, and no ways authorises those in going beyond the limits of their colonies, in order to carry on a trade with the Savages.

6, Lastly, by this XVth article it is provided, that it shall be settled respectively, which are the American nations that ought to be deemed subjects or friends of the two crowns. This stipulation has not been executed, because, in fact it is scarcely susceptible of execution; inasmuch, as an Indian nation which to-day are friends, may to-morrow become enemies; and therefore, the argument which might have been used upon this head, would have been contradicted by fact.

All we have here set forth, proves clearly, that if the XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht be discussed, according to the rules of justice and right, it will be easy to overturn the false interpretations which are given to it. Nor will it admit of greater difficulty to demonstrate, that the English cannot be actuated by any motives of interest, in setting forth the pretensions which they have formed. There can be no question in these vast regions of America, of disputing about a little more, or a little less ground. The essential interest is limited to two objects: that of interest,

security, and that of trade: the court of France will be always disposed to concert in both these respects with that of London, such arrangements as are equitable and solid, as well for the present as the future.

ARTICLE III.

Concerning the course and the territory of the Ohio.

IT is incontestible from the principles which agree with the titles, with justice, with the law of convenience and the mutual security, that the Ohio ought to make part of the possessions of France. The English have no settlements upon this river, and when the British ministers maintained this proposition: that the sources of this river are full of antient settlements of their nation; it was plain, they had trusted too much to false relations. The French have always looked upon this river as dependent of Canada, and it is essential to her, in order to the communication of Canada with Louisiana; they have frequented it in all times, and in numbers. It was even by this river, that they sent the detachment of troops which were sent to the Louisiana, about the year 1739, on the occasion of the war of the Chickachas.

Had there been English settlements then on that river, and had it been a part of the British colonies, would the French have been suffered to descend its whole course ; or would not the court of London have at least made complaints of it ? but at that time there was no question or the least mention made, of the pretension which has been raised up since ; without proof, without title, and without any sort of foundation.

It is true that in latter years, some English traders have passed the mountains of Virginia, and have ventured to carry on a furr-trade towards the Ohio with the Savages. The French governors of Canada contented themselves at first, with sending them word that they were on the territory of France, and forbidding them to return on pain of having their goods seized and themselves made prisoners : they returned notwithstanding, and their goods have been confiscated and sold, their persons seized and conducted to Quebec, from thence to France, where they have been detained in the prisons of Rochelle : no claim, no complaint was made on this occasion, by the court of London ; they have been considered only as smugglers, whose desire of gain, had exposed them to the risque attending an illicit trade.

Having thus ascertained, and with so much solidity, the right and possession of the French on the Ohio and its territory, their being satisfied

tisfied to stipulate, that all the territory between the Ohio and the mountains, which border Virginia, shall remain neutral, and that all trade and passage through it shall be interdicted as well to the French as to the English, ought to be considered as a very sensible proof of their love of peace.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the Contested Islands.

TH E S E Islands are those of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago; We venture to affirm, that the commissaries of France have demonstrated in the clearest manner, that the island of St. Lucia belongs to the king their master, and that those of St. Vincent and Dominica, ought to belong to the Savages or Caribbees under the protection of his majesty.

The commissaries have made no memorial relative to Tobago, but the lawfulness of the rights of France to this island, is not the less demonstrable: so that the court of France, at the same time that it prevails on itself to make in favour of England; the sacrifices which have been mentioned in this memorial, ought to require, that its right of propriety to St. Lucia and Tobago be

acknowledged, and that the islands of St. Vincent and Dominico do remain to the Savages or Caribbees, under the protection of his most Christian majesty.

Signed

The Duke de Mirepoix.

N U M B E R X I I I .

Memorial, delivered the 7th of June 1755, by the Ministry of London, in answer to the foregoing, on the four Points to be discussed, relating to America.

1. *The Limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia.*
2. *The Limits of Canada.*
3. *The Course and the Territory of the Ohio.*
4. *The Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago.*

THE Court of Great-Britain lays down as general principles of the negotiation, those of right and justice; but it cannot allow (properly speaking) that of convenience, to be one of these; as it is not to be admitted excepting it be for the sake of peace, and in order to preserve a good harmony, which is so much wished for, between both courts.

They

They ought therefore to dispose themselves equally to depart, in certain cases, from what might appear an absolute right, when it can be done with safety. The court of Great-Britain, is ready to give proof of its good disposition on this occasion, whenever it is consistent with prudence, and its safety; upon the presumption that it will meet with the same good intentions on the part of France.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Limits of Acadia.

WHatever reason France may have to imagine that Acadia ought to be limited to this part of the Peninsula which extends from cape Fourchu, or from cape Sable to cape Canseau, grounded upon what is alledged in the Memorials of its commissaries of the 4th of October, 1751; it were to be wished that a greater attention had been paid to the reply made to that memorial, and given in by the English commissaries above two years ago.

To this, France makes no other answer *

* An Answer has been made since to this Reply, by a Memorial which is to be soon published. The proceedings of the English might have dispensed (the Commissaries of his Majesty) with this labour: but France owes to its own Glory, the care which she takes to expose, to the eyes of the Universe, both the justice of her Rights, and the regularity of her Steps.

than

than by affirming that “ this reply overturns
 “ neither the facts nor the proofs contained
 “ in the French memorial; and that there-
 “ fore, it should be laid down as a basis of
 “ the negociation, that Acadia composes only
 “ a part of the Penninsula:” however, this
 appears to the court of Great-Britain to be
 clearly and solidly proved in this reply, viz.
 that the ancient limits of Acadia or Nova-
 Scotia, (and the question turns here, on those
 ancient limits) extend on the west towards
 New England by Penobscot river, otherwise
 called Pentagoet; that is to say, beginning
 at its mouth, and from thence drawing a
 straight line on the north side to the river
 St. Lawrence, or the great river of Canada;
 at the north by the said river St. Lawrence,
 along its southern bank to cape Rosiers situ-
 ated at its entrance; eastwards by the great
 gulph of St. Lawrence from the said cape
 Rosiers; on the south-east by the Raccaloo
 islands to cape Breton, leaving these islands
 to the right, and the gulph of St. Lawrence
 and Newfoundland, with the islands belong-
 ing thereto, on the left, to the cape or pro-
 montory called cape Breton; on the south by
 the great Atlantic ocean, drawing towards the
 south-west from the said cape Breton by cape
 Sable, taking in the islands of the same name
 round the bay of Fundi, which ascend to-
 wards the east into the country, to the mouth
 of the said river Penobscot or Pentagoet.

So

So essential a difference with regard to limits claimed as a matter of right by both sides, has already disposed the court of Great Britain, for the sake of peace, not to insist rigorously, on what belongs to it ; but to propose that two lines being drawn, the one, from the mouth of the river Penobscot or Pentagoet, to its source, and thence in a direct line northwards to the river St. Lawrence, the other from a certain point on the said river of Pentagoet, at twenty leagues distance from its mouth across the continent, to the point on the gulph of St. Lawrence, which will be at twenty leagues distance from cape Tourmantin, the whole of the Penninsula, the Isthmus, the Bay of Fundy, and in general all the countries, rivers and coasts, situated to the south-east of the abovesaid last line, shall belong in full sovereignty to the crown of Great Britain ; that with regard to the country situated to the north-west between the two abovesaid lines, to the river St. Lawrence, shall not be possessed nor inhabited by the subjects of either one power or the other.

The court of Great Britain imagines that this proposition will fullfill perfectly, the object of security and reciprocal convenience ; but on the other hand it sees with regret, how much the conditions, and the reserves under which France pretends to leave the possession of the Penninsula to Great Britain,
are

are subject to obstacles and unsurmountable objections, so as to render the possession of this Penninsula totally useless.

1. With regard to the proposition of granting the space of three years to all the French who inhabit the Penninsula, in order to withdraw from thence with their effects; it were depriving England of a very considerable number of useful subjects; should such a transmigration extend to the French who were settled there at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, and to their descendants.

By the fourteenth article of this treaty, the inhabitants have had, it is true, the liberty to retire with their moveables; but this time being expired these forty years, there is not the least reason for such a right to subsist at present, and it must be supposed that * those who have been willing to remain under the dominion of Great Britain, as well as their descendants born in the country, would not leave without much reluctance, their settlements, though even it were possible that the king of Great Britain could consent to so disadvantageous a proposition.

* These Inhabitants did not withdraw then, because they did not take it, that the country which they inhabited was comprehended in the cession; and the English themselves formed the same judgment, as appears from their not compelling them to acknowledge the King of England for their Sovereign.

Whatever

2. Whatever desire France may have to possess the Isthmus and Beaubassin, as the only communication during a considerable part of the year between Quebec and Isle-Royal, Great Britain cannot consent thereto, without giving up the most essential security for the remainder of the Penninsula, of which the whole might as well be given up, as to leave the Key thereof to another.

3. The same difficulty occurs with regard to the proposal of leaving in the Penninsula, a certain extent of ground which shall not be inhabited, along the coast which commands the gulph of St. Lawrence: To Great Britain it appears, that very thick woods and defiles to be crossed, would tend more to favour the designs which one power may have for another, than to obstruct them.

4. It is in consequence of such reflections, that Great Britain for her own security, is still under a necessity of insisting that she shall have a certain skirt of land as may be agreed on, along the northern coast of the bay of Fundy to the gulph of St. Lawrence, without which, the possession of the Penninsula and of the bay of Fundy, would be entirely precarious.

So that, on whatever side we view the conditions and reservations of France, Great-Britain can consider them only as so many seeds of new dissensions. To leave the bay of

Fundy in common, were the most certain means of interrupting the happy harmony so much wished for on both sides. Hitherto 'it has been sufficiently demonstrated by experience,' even by the confession of France, according to the memorial of M. de Torci, of the 10th of June 1712, 'that it is impossible to preserve such an union in the places that are held in common by the French and English.' Which may be said with equal truth of a Bay which is so narrow as that in question: France has been hitherto contented with the Isle Royal, in order to secure herself the entrance of the river St. Lawrence; and it was owing to the same reasons that the English who were to be the possessors of Acadia and Newfoundland, by the treaty of Utrecht, renounced their pretensions to the farther possession of the Island of cape Breton in common with the French.

II.

Of the Limits of Canada.

IT will be difficult to form to one's self a precise Idea, of what in the memorial is called the centre of Canada; we can still less admit, for a basis of the negociation, that the river St. Lawrence be the centre of this province:

vince: this is advanced without any proof, and it is impossible, that the course of a river of this extent could form the centre of any country. Moreover, Great Britain cannot subscribe to this proposition, viz. that the country between the northern coast of the bay of Fundy, and the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence, (which Great Britain has offered already should remain neutral, without being possessed by either nation, and except the skirt of land which is proposed to be drawn out of it) ought to be considered, or has ever been considered as a part of Canada, since the contrary has been demonstrated by authentic proofs.

Neither can Great Britain allow, that France has a right to the lakes Ontario and Erie, or to the river Niagara, and the navigation of these waters exclusively; it being evident from incontestible facts, that the subjects of Great Britain and France, as well as the five Iroquois nations, have made use of the navigation of these lakes and rivers without distinction, as often as their occasions and convenience required it. But as to a part of the country situated on the southern coast of the river St. Lawrence, exclusive of what has been already proposed to be left neutral, whose limits are disputed between both nations, or their respective colonies: The court of Great Britain is ready to

enter into a * Discussion on this subject, and and to fix the limits thereof by an ' amicable negociation,' but however without prejudicing the rights and possessions of any of these five nations.

As to the exposition which is made in the French memorial of the XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the court of Great Britain does not think it can have any foundation, either by the words or the intention of this treaty.

1. The court of Great Britain cannot allow of this article relating only to the person of the Savages, and not their country: the words of this treaty are clear and precise, that is to say; " that the five Indian nations or cantons, are subject to the dominion of Great Britain," which by the received exposition of all the treaties, must relate to the country as well as to the person of the inhabitants; it is what France has acknowledged in the most solemn manner; she had well weighed the importance of this acknowledgement at the time of signing this treaty, and Great Britain

* Always a Seed of future Discussions and Negotiations! While at this very time, Fire and Sword were carrying into the French habitations in America. Nothing now was expected at London but the Exploits of M. Braddock; and had the Orders given by his Britannic Majesty, been crowned with all the Success that was expected, the French prisoners would have been already on board M. Keppel's Vessels on their return to France.

can

can never give it up. The countries possessed by these Indians are very well known, and are not at all so undetermined as it is pretended in the memorial; they possess and make them over as other proprietors do in all other places.

2. Great Britain has never pretended that the country wherein an Indian might make a transient residence, belonged to the crown whose friend or subject he should be.

3. However free and independent the Savages in question may be (which is 'a point the court of Great Britain will not discuss' *) they cannot be considered otherwise than subjects of Great Britain, and treated as such by France in particular; since she has solemnly engaged by the treaty of Utrecht, renewed and confirmed in the best manner by that of Aix la Chapelle, to consider them as such; the nature of things is not changed § by the treaty of Utrecht. The same people; the same country, always exist: but the acknowledgement made by France of the subjection of the Iroquois to Great Britain, is an everlasting proof of her right in this respect, which can never be disputed by France.

* They are right in that: However, this point is decisive. For if the Savages are Independent, it follows that they are not subjects of England.

§. They mean, doubtless, to say (since).

4. It

4. It is true, the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht contains the same stipulations in favour of the French, as it does in favour of the English, with regard to such Indian nations as should, after the conclusion of this treaty, be by the commissaries deemed to be subjects of Great Britain or France ; but as to what regards the five Iroquois nations, or cantons above-mentioned, France has distinctly, and specifically declared by the said fifteenth article, that they are subject to Great Britain : *Magnæ Britanniae imperio Subiecti* ; and consequently, this point can admit of no farther dispute.

5. In whatever sense the treaty of Utrecht may be understood, with respect to the trade which the English and French shall be allowed to carry on indistinctly with the Savage nations ; it is notwithstanding very certain, that such a general trade is not at all forbidden by this treaty. It is a common and natural right which people have, to go and negotiate among their subjects, * allies or friends ; but to come with an armed force on the lands belonging to the subjects or allies of another crown, and there to build forts, strip

* This is still begging the Question. The Iroquois are eternally supposed to be the subjects of England. They are at this time their enemies ; *facto Jure*, they have been always free : We need only to cast our eyes on the speeches of M. Johnson, and M. Washington, as a Proof of this.

them

them of their territories, appropriate them to one's self; this is what is not, what cannot be authorised by any pretension, not even by the most uncertain one of all, viz. convenience: such are notwithstanding, the forts of Frederic, Niagara, the Presqu-Isle, Ox-river, and all those which have been built on the Ohio, and on the adjacent lands.

Whatever pretext might be alledged by France, in considering these countries as the appurtenances of Canada; it is a certain truth that they have belonged, and (as they have not been given up or made over to the English) belong still to the same Indian nations, which by the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, France agreed not to molest, *nullo in posterum impedimento aut molestia afficiant.* *

6. It has been already proved that France has, by the express words of the said treaty, fully and absolutely acknowledged the Iroquois as subjects of Great Britain. It would

* What? The English go to war for the Iroquois on whose heads they have set a price, and whom they consider this time as their enemies! If these countries never ceased to belong to the Savages, why do they now disturb all Europe, in order to render these Indians a service which they do not demand, and at which they are even offended. We might say to the English, Why do you not abandon the Iroquois who abandon you? Was it necessary that M. Braddock should lose his life to serve such friends: it is true, the Savages themselves do not look on the zeal of the English as a disinterested instance of Friendship.

not

not be a matter of such difficulty as is pretended in the memorial, to come to an agreement with regard to the other Indians, if while so many commissions were made out in order to regulate this point, there had been a mutual disposition to come to a conclusion ; the acts of these commissions have abundantly shewn the true reasons which have prevented the execution of the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, without having recourse to an imaginary supposition, as if the treaty could not be carried into execution ; such a supposition is evidently overturned by the treaty itself, with regard to the Iroquois nations.

III

Of the Course and the Territory of the Ohio.

NOTwithstanding all that has been advanced in this article, the court of Great Britain cannot agree to France's having the least title to the river Ohio and the territory in question ; even that of possession is not, nor can it be alledged on this occasion ; since France cannot pretend to have had any such before the treaty of Aix la Chapelle nor since, unless it be that of certain forts unjustly erected, lately on lands, which evidently

dently belong to the five nations, * or which these have made over to the crown of Great Britain or its subjects: as may be proved by treaties † and acts of the greatest authenticity. The title on which France insists the most, arises from her having made use of this river as a communication between Canada and Louisiana; but in fact, she made no such use of it unless occasionally or clandestinely, as might possibly have happened in a country of such extent, without being observed; which cannot however give the least colour of a right thereto. The rivers of the Micmacs and Wabache are those which have served, and that only within these few years, as a communication between Canada and Louisiana; not that Great Britain can allow that France has any right even to these, much less still to a passage so near her neighbourhood as that of the river Ohio. As to the use which has been made of this last river, on the occasion of the war with the Chicachas, (allies and friends of Great-Britain) although Great-Britain did not complain of it in a formal manner, it does not follow that a violence committed in certain delicate and critical moments, can serve as a foundation to new encroachments. The same may be said of the rash and inconsiderate proceedings of

* Every where, the English alledge nothing but the interests or the right of the five nation.

† England will perhaps at last, cause these treaties to be printed.

the governor of a distant colony, who should forbid the English to pass the mountains of Virginia, on pain of seizing their goods, and being themselves made prisoners. The manner in which the court of Great-Britain has claimed these prisoners and their effects, has been sufficiently made known by the memorial which the late Earl of Albemarle presented the 7th of March 1752 (*a*) to the court of France. What the Court of Great-Britain maintained, what it insists upon, is, that the five nations of the Iroquois acknowledged by France to be subjects of Great-Britain, are by origin (*b*) or by right of conquest, the lawful proprietors of the river Ohio, and the territory in question; and as to the territory which has been yielded and made over by this people to Great-Britain (which it cannot but be owned, must be the most just and lawful manner of making an acquisition of this sort) she reclaims it as belonging to her, having continued cultivating it for above twenty years past, and having made settlements in several parts of it, from the sources even of the Ohio to Pecko-Williams, in the center of the territory situated between the Ohio and the Wabache.

(*a*) This memorial was never delivered to the court of France.

(*b*) Why not specify something more precise? the Iroquois will very soon, on account of their origin, give the English an universal title over all America.

But

But notwithstanding such clear and evident facts, the court of Great-Britain, for the sake of peace, and in order to preserve a good harmony between the two crowns, has proposed, to prevent all future disputes, to let that extent of ground in those Parts, remain neutral and uncultivated, in the manner that it has been already exposed to the court of France, and the precise extent of which Great-Britain is ready to limit and adjust by an amicable negotiation.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the islands in dispute.

THough the court of Great-Britain can, no ways, acquiesce in the arguments alledged in the last memorial of the French commissaries, with regard to his most Christian majesty's right to the island of St. Lucia, yet we think it unnecessary to enter at present into so minute a detail as this subject would require, and which can not in fact be comprised within the bounds of an answer, to the last memorial of the court of France.

We were employed in preparing an ample reply on this subject, as also on that of the dispute concerning the islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago : but the court of Great-Britain being disposed to enter into the discussion

of the disputes relative to these four islands in the course of this negociation, is inclinable to come to a reasonable and amicable (c) accommodation, in full expectation of meeting with the like dispositions in the court of France.

Signed

T. ROBINSON.

N U M B E R X I V .

Relation of the battle fought by the ships the Alcide, commanded by M. Hocquart, and the Lys, commanded by M. de Lorgerie, taken (a) by Mr. Boscawen's Squadron composed of eleven ships. By one of the officers embarked on board the Alcide.

IN 45 degrees 27 minutes north latitude, and 53 degrees 49 minutes longitude west from Paris, the 7th of June, at fix in the

(c) See in the following piece the pledge of this reasonable accommodation.

(d) There was the less reason to expect such an event, as the Duke de Mirepoix having had advice, in the month of May 1755, that admiral Boscawen had orders of an offensive nature, messrs. the Lord High Chancellor of England, the Duke of Newcastle, Earl Granville, and Sir Thomas Robinson, to whom this ambassador imparted the Advice which was given him, assured him positively, that it was absolutely false.

evening,

evening, the signals were made of eleven ships, which were perceived from the mast-heads. They lay to the east-north-east, and were about six leagues distant from us. M. Hocquart made the signal to the Lys and the Dauphin Royal to crowd their sails, in order to endeavour to reconnoitre this squadron before night, thinking it might be our own, from which we had been separated for several days; the wind fell at once, and the calm coming on at midnight, we lay to.

The 8th, at day-break, we found ourselves to leeward of this squadron at the distance of about three leagues; M. Hocquart caused the private signals to be made; but these vessels crowding all their sails, and making no answer, we put up all ours; the Lys and the Dauphin Royal were soon a-head of us, the English vessels were visibly gaining ground on us. M. Hocquart gave orders to make ready for fighting; the squadron being now within cannon-shot and half, we hoisted our flag and the streamer, which was followed by a cannon-shot with powder. Upon this, the English vessels hoisted their flags and streamers; the general set up a red flag on his fore-top-mast.

Between ten and eleven in the morning the Dunkirk, a ship of 60 guns, was within hearing. M. Hocquart desired messrs. de Rostaing, a colonel of foot, de Rigaud, governor of the three rivers in Canada, de

Crancé,

Crancé, commissary of war, d'Halincour and de Semerville, to hearken to the conversation in order to be able to make a report of it. He caused it to be cried out three times in English, "Are we in peace or at war?" The answer was, "We don't understand you." The same question was repeated in French; the same answer. M. Hocquart made it then himself; the Captain answered twice and very distinctly, "Peace, peace." M. Hocquart added, "What is the name of the Admiral?" "Admiral Boscawen," replies the Englishman. says M. Hocquart: "I know him, he is a friend of mine." To which the Englishman replied, "You, sir! what is your name?" "Hocquart." The time of uttering these words was the only interval between the word peace and the broadside, which declared war to us: we were then within half pistol-shot, the guns of the enemy were loaded with double balls and old iron of all sorts; that, together with the confidence which the word Peace uttered by, and coming from the mouth of a Captain, was the occasion of our losing a great number of men. Our fire suffered however no delay by this; we remained some time with our bowsprit across this ship, continuing a very hot fire of our cannons and small arms, which was directed on four or five vessels which were firing on us, among which were the Admiral and Rear Admiral: but what could we hope in the situation we were in? having
our

our riggings in pieces, our sails full of shot, the fore-top-mast ready to come down, the main-mast pierced by two cannon-balls, our yard-arm shot in two, our main and top-gallant-masts injured, pieces of cannon dismounted, eighty men lying killed, wounded or maimed on the decks, of the number of whom were four officers; messrs. Rostaing, de l'Aubepin, Monfermeil, and several officers wounded; M. Hocquart determined at last surrender himself to the Admiral.

At two in the afternoon the Lys, having been neared by the Defiance, for a long time made a running fight of it, but the Fougueux coming up, she was put between two fires. This ship could make but a weak resistance against these attacks, considering the small number of cannon which she mounted; this obliged M. de Lorgerie, after making all the resistance possible, to strike the King's flag.

As to the Dauphin Royal, her being a prime sailer, procured M. de Montalais the satisfaction of carrying her into Louisbourg with the troops with which he was entrusted. Here he was informed of the taking of our two ships, by which a discovery was made of the designs of the English.

[illegible]